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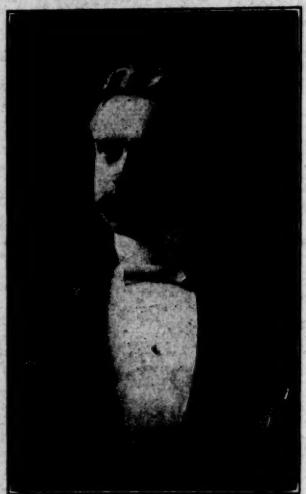

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

FIFTH SERIES.—VOL. X.—(L).—MARCH, 1914.—No. 3.

RUSSIAN ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS ON THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.*

IN a recent article on religious freedom in Russia,[1] Dr. Michael Georgievich Krossnogeon, professor in the Imperial University of Yurieff, whose text-book on Canon Law has been recommended by the Holy Synod as a standard for ecclesiastical seminaries throughout Russia, makes the statement that the Russian government's attitude from the beginning of its history has been defined by two principles. One of these is tolerance of other creeds; the other, "the preservation of the Orthodox faith". "And so it is in our days," continues the professor. "The Orthodox faith in Russia has always been acknowledged to be the one true faith. Our fundamental laws say: 'The chief and dominant religion in the Russian Empire is the Christian, Orthodox, Catholic Faith of the Eastern Confession'."

I mention this most recent and in a way authoritative statement here, not in any caviling spirit, but because it leads naturally to the question which I propose to answer in this article, namely: What is this dominant religion in the Russian Empire, called "Christian, Orthodox, and Catholic"? The answer must come from the leading churchmen themselves in the Orthodox body of the Russian Church. It must receive its

* In the following article the titles of the publications to which reference is made are as a rule given in English translation in the text, with the original in footnotes; this, it is hoped, will bring out better the character of the testimony adduced.

[1] *The Constructive Quarterly*, December, 1913, pp. 763-776.

confirmation from the sanctioned practice of that Church and as it is reflected in the moral and social life of the nation. As far as these sources shed any light upon the teaching of Russian Orthodoxy, they may be expressed in the words of a recent writer on the present state of the Orthodox Church, who says: "The Church is without that supernatural element, that faith and doctrine which transform mankind, which infuse into humanity the principle of divine life, and lift up the souls of men from the grovelling things of earth to the contemplation of the eternal truths." [2]

Some thirty years ago a prominent ecclesiastical writer, named Dostoievskij, declared: "From the epoch of Peter I, who instituted the Holy Synod, the Russian Church became paralyzed, and is no longer able to work out men's salvation," [3] a statement which is echoed on every side by the best and most competent writers amongst the Russian bishops and clergy. A recent author, discussing the reëstablishment of the Russian Patriarchate in *The Social and Ecclesiastical Life*, a clerical magazine of Kazan, wrote: "After the epoch of Peter the Great, the Russian Church ceased to exist; she is dead; she has neither a head nor a leader. She is a mere department of the ministry of worship, which does not govern a church, but a Russian ecclesiastical bureaucracy." [4] Shortly before this (in 1905) an important article signed by Bishop Evdokim had appeared in *The Theological Messenger*, the leading theological review in Russia, the organ of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow. The article made quite a sensation at the time in Russia, for Mgr. Evdokim was recognized as one of the most learned members of the Orthodox hierarchy. The writer spoke of the Russian Church as follows: "Immobility and formalism are the chief characteristics of the bureaucratic system which penetrates and infects the organism of the Church. Orthodoxy, if we consider it in its reality, and apart

[2] Witte, *The Present State of the Orthodox Church*. Slovo, Petersburg, 1905. N. 108.

[3] Th. Dostoievskij, *A Christian Writer*. Cerkovnya Viedomosti, Petersburg, 1906, pp. 226-230. Kusnetzov, *The Reformation of the Russian Church*. Moscow, 1906, p. 36. Palmieri, *La Chiesa Russa e il suo riformismo dottrinale*. Florence, 1908, pp. 5-6.

[4] *The Reëstablishment of the Russian Patriarchate*. Cerkovno-obssestvennaia jizn, 1906, 25, pp. 837-841.

from the theoretic conditions that surround it, is no longer a religious force, but a dead doctrine. The Russian Church is no longer a guardian of the universal truth of Christendom, but a museum of Christian antiquities. This museum is, no doubt, very useful for historical research, but it is without efficacy for the living man, for the living soul. The Russian clergy may be compared to a corpse stretched on the bier, decorated with the various insignia of their order and rank. They present a rather pleasing appearance; but we wait in vain to hear from the lips of these corpses the inspiring words of eternal life." [5] Mgr. Antony, Bishop of Volhynie and at present the most authoritative personage of the official church, writes as follows in the official organ of the Holy Synod: "There is in Russia a laical bureaucracy, but there is not a church. The Russian Church is deprived of the most important element in life, an element that is found among Latins, Protestants (?), and Musselmans. She has no chief. She is the slave of the laity, the slave of a council founded on the violation of the ancient canons." [6]

Let us examine the fairness of these criticisms concerning the Russian Church. What are the existing relations between the Russian bishops and priests (popes), and the Russian people. Here again I shall not appeal to my personal impressions obtained by protracted travel in the Russian Empire. I shall offer only Russian estimates of the apostolic spirit of the Russian clergy and the Russian people, and allow the Russian ecclesiastical writers to introduce us into the interior life of their church. In this way I shall dissect, so to say, the heart of Russian Orthodoxy.

It is an easily observed and therefore a recognized fact that the bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church have but little influence upon the religious life of the Russian people. Indeed it would be on the whole impossible for the bishops to reach their flocks, even if they actually exercised their apostolic mission in their dioceses. The Russian Empire covers a vast territory. It comprises almost one-sixth of the entire land surface of the globe; that is to say, some nine million

[5] *Bogoslovskij Viestnik*, 1905, T. II, pp. 179-185.

[6] *Cerkovnya Viedomosti*, 1906, pp. 380-382.

square miles. The Orthodox population is estimated at about one hundred million souls. This body, for the purposes of ecclesiastical administration, is divided into about seventy dioceses.

The metropolitans (St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kieff, Kazan), with the bishops and vicar bishops, number about 130.[7] The vicar bishops are for the most part occupied in the direction of theological academies and ecclesiastical seminaries and thus exercise only a remote influence upon the religious education of the masses. Thus there are about one hundred bishops for one hundred million Orthodox members. Under the circumstances it is manifestly impossible for every Russian bishop to visit his diocese, which often extends beyond the area of a European kingdom, with two or three million subjects.

As a matter of fact it is a common complaint of the Russian press that the bishops take no interest in and are often wholly ignorant of the religious conditions of the cities in which they reside, not to speak of the other cities and villages of their extensive jurisdictions. There are in point of fact towns within reach of the city residence of the Russian bishop that have not been visited by their pastor for fifty years. Indeed the Russian bishops usually live in monasteries and are scarcely ever seen by the people.[8] "A mountain of official documents," says Bishop Evdokim, "separates the Russian episcopate from the Russian people."[9] A bishop's jurisdiction extends to seminaries, parish schools, manufactories of candles, monasteries, consistories, in a word, to all the various institutions controlled by the Russian ecclesiastical bureaucracy. Accordingly, he must examine and sign annually from eight to ten thousand acts and documents, and read and pass judgment on perhaps twenty thousand others that the ecclesiastical consistories of his diocese send to him. Thus the apostolic activity of the Russian bishops is hindered by a vast array of administrative details.

[7] I give accurate statistics of the Russian dioceses in the *Chiesa Russa*, pp. 138-140.

[8] *Ecclesiastical Council and the White Clergy*, Slovo, 1905, N. 140. *Bogoslovskij Viestnik*, 1906, T. II, pp. 39-41.

[9] *Bogoslovskij Viestnik*, 1905, T. III, pp. 554-556.

There is another difficulty that limits the religious ministrations of the Russian bishops, and which prevents their knowing the conditions of their dioceses. In Russia a bishop rarely remains in the diocese of his first appointment. The Russian government looks upon him as a civil employe and makes it necessary for him to transfer his residence whenever it thinks well to do so. It is difficult to find a bishop in Russia who has lived for five or six years in one diocese. According to the statistics of 1905, published in the *Peterburgska Viedomosti,*[10] out of 64 bishops, only 16 had resided for more than five years in one diocese; 22 from two to five years; 13 one year only; and 13 less than one year. The official lists show some bishops who have been successively rulers of seven different dioceses. Ireneus, the last bishop of Orel, filled the sees of Uman, Tchirigin, Mohileff, Tula, Kamenec-Podolsk, Ekaterinburg, and Orel. It is a recognized fact, attested by the Russian press, that the consecration of a new bishop involves the translation of about ten other bishops to new dioceses. This has led to the curious definition of a Russian bishop by the Review of Kazan, as one who is "a perpetual traveler whose mission consists in the practical study of the geography of the Russian Empire".[11] While the Russian clergy at times object to these methods, insisting that bishops should be irremovable in their dioceses, the Holy Synod ignores their protests.

It can hardly be expected that the Russian bishops who are thus deprived of influence among the people, have any standing among the intellectual classes or the lower clergy. There are assuredly learned bishops in the Russian episcopacy, but they are few. The government of Constantine Pobiedonostzeff removed from influential positions in the administration of the Russian Church all clerics who by reason of their superior learning and culture were suspected of ambition or were supposed to have embraced the monastical life for the sole purpose of afterward obtaining places of power. Even among those who are educated in the monasteries, the number of learned men is small and their aspirations are frequently lim-

[10] 1905, N. 87.

[11] *Cerkovno-obssestvennaia jizn,* 1906, 22, p. 770.

ited.[12] Hence, according to *The Theological Messenger* of Moscow, the Russian bishops "hate light, liberty, and human endeavor. Their sermons are violent invectives against knowledge and nobility of character. They denounce the aspirations of the people in their struggle for justice, as unbearable ills. They pretend to have a claim to guide the high classes and to govern Russian intelligence by means of their ascetic rules." [13]

The result of this attitude of the higher clergy has been the complete alienation of Russian intelligence from ecclesiastical circles. The educated Russians, men and women, are wholly divorced from the Christian religion. The universities practically shut their doors against the study of the sacred sciences. Of course, there are at each Russian university professors of Theology, Canon Law, and Ecclesiastical History. But the appointments are merely perfunctory and the students have little respect for religion. In many cases persistent efforts are made to get the government to suppress the chairs of theology.

On all sides it is recognized that the better class of Russians is separated from the Church. In the pages of the organ of the Holy Synod, Serge, the Archbishop of Finland, has openly proclaimed this phase of the life of the Church in Russia, and acknowledged that it would be very difficult to lead Russian intelligence to respect religion. Yet it is true that the bishops might exercise a certain influence on the people, if they cultivated closer relations with the lower clergy who perform spiritual duties in the parishes. But even a superficial acquaintance with the history of the Orthodox Church suffices to show one that a latent schism separates the higher clergy and monachism from the lower clergy; and it is this division that has made it impossible since 1905 to call a general council of the clergy.

The antagonism between the episcopacy and the so-called white clergy (popes) is thus characterized by the Bishop of Volhynia: "There are in our Church two tendencies: (1)

[12] Ibid., 1906, p. 664. *Relations between Church and State*, Cerkovnij Viestnik, 1906, p. 527.

[13] *The Dawn of the New Ecclesiastical Life*. Bogoslovskij Viestnik, 1905, T. I, p. 231.

the administrative, which is built upon the traditions of the Latin Church and ancient scholastic theology. Religious ideals have no place in this tendency. It limits its operations to the outward change of the Church's organism. (2) The religious tendency, which contains and endeavors to develop the true and living principle of the Orthodox faith. This is the tendency of the people, the really religious tendency, the object of which is to observe the fast, sanctify the feasts, and keep the Commandments of God and of the Church. The first tendency is to be found only among the higher clergy; the second among the lower clergy and the people. Besides, the priesthood in Russia is divided. The lower clergy has left the bishops and monks to draw nearer to the people." [14]

In my volume on the Russian Church [15] I have collected documents from Russian sources to show the hostile relations of the bishops and the popes.[16] Here it will be enough to recall that, according to the testimony of *The Ecclesiastical Messenger,* the pride and aloofness of the Russian bishops have kept the popes at a distance from the episcopal residences or palaces.[17] The bishops have no welcome for the priests, whom they transfer from one parish to another without cause. One bishop in an interval of nine months removed from one parish to another 95 per cent of the priests of his diocese.[18] There are bishops who have no other interest in the welfare of their priests than to punish them from mere caprice. *The Ecclesiastical and Social Life* of Kazan cites the instance of Mgr. Gury, Bishop of Simbirsk, who in a few months degraded or confined in monastic prisons no less than 118 members of his clergy.[19] Strange as it may seem, it is a fact that suicide is not a rare occurrence among the lower clergy, and they are driven to this crime by the inhumanity of the bishops.[20] "Episcopal absolutism and arbitrary dealing,"

[14] *Cerkovania Gazeta,* Petersburg, 1906, 18-19, pp. 1-2.

[15] *La Chiesa Russa,* Florence, 1908.

[16] Pp. 316-324.

[17] *The Bishops and Lower Clergy,* Cerkovnij Viestnik, 1906, 19, p. 617.

[18] *Bogoslovskij Viestnik,* 1905, T. III, pp. 779-780. *Hristianskoe Ctenie,* 1906, T. II, p. 628.

[19] 1906, N. 49, pp. 1612-1613.

[20] *La Chiesa Russa,* pp. 320-321.

writes the *Theological Messenger,* "are the obstacles which interfere with the activity of the common clergy, and alienate the affection of the people from their pastors. War against episcopal absolutism appears as a necessary consequence in order that the lower clergy and laity may have a share in the supreme government of the Church." [21] Some bishops, it is true, are men of good will and learned, and would gladly introduce among their flock the life of the Spirit of God; but their zeal and activity are in turn, as stated above, hindered by the civil power, which exacts as a first law subordination of the clergy to the state. The bishop who manifests any zeal and seeks the independence of the Church is either immediately recalled from his diocese, or relegated to a monastery by order of the Holy Synod. During the past year Bishop Ermogenes was deposed for no other cause than that he had taken the liberty of sending a telegram to the Czar without having previously obtained leave from the Synod. The dependence of the episcopacy upon the civil power represented by the Holy Synod may be said to be the principal obstacle in the way of the bishops devoting themselves to the spiritual needs of the people.

Speaking of the pastoral activity of the Russian clergy the *Kolokol* (Steeple), a newspaper of the most uncompromising and fanatic section of the Orthodox Church, characterizes the relations of the lower clergy with the people in the following terms: "The popes of Russia are not teachers of religion; they are ignorant of the science of saving souls. The difference in matters of education and enlightenment among the masses of the people is almost incredible. They dispose the Orthodox faithful to keep away from the church. They force the relapse of converts (Tartars and Jews) into their ancient superstitions; and they are responsible for the apostacy of the Catholics and Protestants who in the nineteenth century embraced the Orthodox faith. The population of the villages increases more and more, but unbelief and superstition empty the churches. The lay *starosty* (chiefs of the Russian parish similar to our vestrymen or trustees) do their best to organize good choirs; the priests carry out the religious

[21] *Some Dangerous Symptoms in the Life of the Russian Church.* Bogoslovskij Viestnik, 1905, T. III, pp. 575-579.

ceremonial in splendid fashion; but the people pay no heed to the invitation of their pastors. Why have the popes so little influence? The reason is their pastoral indifference. They lack the living faith that would induce them to become the leaders and friends of the people. Moreover, priests' sons give bad example by preferring secular entertainments to divine services on Sundays and holidays of obligation, and by neglecting the performance of their spiritual duties." [22]

The indifference of the lower clergy, according to Russian witnesses, explains the gross corruption on the one hand, and the ignorance of religion on the other, of the Russian people. Thus Rachinsky in his book on *Letters on Temperance to Orthodox Young Men* says: " The Russian people are baptized, but they are never catechized." [23] Dobroklonski and Golubinski, two Russian historians of note, declare that paganism has never died out in Russia from the very origin of the Russian Church. They point to it as existing in many villages, where the superstitious class of *moujiks* confound the worship of the true God with certain remnants of the worship of ancient Slavic idols. We learn from Russian ecclesiastical sources that the religious condition of the lower classes of the people is extremely pitiful. The moujiks do not know the rudiments of Christian decency, nor the respect due to the house of God. They enter the church as they would a tavern, and assist at divine worship in ragged clothing and dirty shoes. They have not the least knowledge of the Church's ceremonial. The ancient Slavic, in which are composed the liturgical prayers of the Russian Church, is for them an unknown language. All this is due of course to the fact that the great masses of the people receive no doctrinal instruction concerning the truths of the Christian faith.[24]

It is true that the moujiks baptize their children, as the Church prescribes; they hear Mass on Sundays, go to confession, and carefully observe the fasts. But their whole attitude toward the Christian faith is that of servile and stoical

[22] *Why there is in Russia a Decay of Christian Piety?* Kolokol, 1906, 4; 14, 58.

[23] Moscow, 1899, pp. 5, 12.

[24] Palmow, *The Spiritual Needs of the Russian Clergy, and Orthodox Apostleship,* Kieff, 1903, p. 24. Palmieri, *La Chiesa Russa,* p. 352.

obedience to the precepts of the Church without any thought of the interior life of grace as necessary to salvation. As soon as they leave the church they go straight to the tavern. Often even in church their conduct is worse than at home. For the average moujik the most important act of piety consists in many prostrations before the images of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints. This he believes dispenses him from all need of praying. For the rest, the religious ignorance of the moujik is so great that often he cannot distinguish between God and the Saints. For this reason false Christs frequently occur in the history of Russian superstition. Fr. John of Cronstadt, the so-called thaumaturge of the Russian Church who died a few years ago, was generally adored by these peasants as a second Saviour of mankind; and a woman, Kisseleva by name, who was associated with his philanthropies, received from them the glorious title of Mother of God.[25] Gregory Petrov, a priest, says: "It may be affirmed without hesitation, or without the least fear of straining the truth, that, since the conversion of Russia to the Christian faith under Vladimir the Great, the people have not ceased to sit in the greatest darkness regarding doctrinal instruction and religious practice."[26]

The true causes of the religious starvation of the Russian people may be traced to the lack of spiritual impulse from the clergy. Kantorsky, himself a member of the Russian clergy, writes: "The Russian priests need higher inspiration. There are very few among us who do not feel the burden of earthly cares. We do not know how to fix our minds on the sublimity of our ministry. We are men of words, not works, because we do not observe the law, though we are looked upon as the preachers of the law. Our moral life deserves the most severe reproach."[27] The official Synod singularly enough confirms this view of the situation, as is apparent from the assertions of some of the prelates belonging to this authoritative body of the Church in Russia. From the *Ecclesiastical News* I gather the following: "The Russian Orthodox clergy

[25] Osipov, *The Causes of the Decreasing Influence of the Russian Clergy on the People*, St. Petersburg, 1900.

[26] *Toward Light*, Moscow, 1901, pp. 23-25.

[27] *La Chiesa Russa*, p. 350.

do not know the spiritual needs of their people. In ordaining candidates to the priesthood, diplomas from high schools or seminaries weigh more with the bishops than moral character or a vocation to the ecclesiastical state. . . . The Russian clergy are no longer capable of fostering piety and edification among their parishioners. The true and genuine conception of sacerdotal life is actually dying in Russia; perhaps it would be nearer the truth to confess that it has already ceased to exist. In the town the priests appointed to parish work do not even know their parish boundaries. They have convinced themselves that a mechanical performance of the liturgical ceremonies is the only duty of the pastor of souls. Collecting their salaries is for them a far more important function of the sacerdotal life than the spiritual care of those committed to their guidance. No wonder, then, that the relation between the clergy and people is anything but cordial; no wonder that the Russian Orthodox masses are indifferent to the continuous decline of their own church." [28]

It is well known that the organ of the Holy Synod aims at exalting the merits of the Russian clergy; and when it speaks thus disparagingly of them, its criticisms cannot be attributed to bias or lack of sympathy. The same criticisms are found in a speech made by Mgr. Eulogius to the members of a synodal committee appointed to prepare and organize a general council of the Russian Church. Mgr. Eulogius is also the leader of the Orthodox priests who are members of the Russian Duma. He is, I may incidentally mention, a determined adversary of the Catholic Church, and his diocese has been the theatre of the most disgraceful acts of violence against the Ruthenians in allegiance with the Holy See. Speaking of the practical life of the Roman as compared with the Orthodox clergy, he says: "The Catholic priests observe carefully the ceremonial and diligently perform their pastoral duties. They are men of convictions and principles with a clerical calling; and never fail in priestly decorum, or in the moral strength which the priesthood demands of them in their relations with the laity. Moreover they are by their obedience docile instruments in the hands of their bishops. The Rus-

[28] *Ecclesiastical News*, 1906, pp. 107, 2474, 2566, 2674.

sian priests, on the contrary, habitually despise ecclesiastical discipline; in their social intercourse with the laity they do not maintain the dignity of their ministry; and in church, during the liturgical services, they are totally unmindful of the Real Presence of our Lord upon the altar. They cause an evident decrease of piety among the people by their conduct. In short, the Russian clergy are without an ecclesiastical training." [29]

The chief reasons given by Russian ecclesiastical writers for this decline in the apostolic life of their clergy are the following: Candidates with a real vocation to the ecclesiastical state are wanting. The Russian clergy consists of a body of men who embrace the priesthood to support their families. They form a class, or caste, which, since the conversion of Russia to the Christian faith, has held aloof from the rest of society. The priesthood is a burden that the Russian priests put upon their sons; a rigid inheritance from which the families of the clergy are not to be debarred. A few years ago the theological Academy of Moscow invited a large number of priests to give their opinion about the real motives that actuate young men in entering the ecclesiastical state. The best and most distinguished priests answered that they knew of no seminarists who entered the priesthood from a sense of generous self-denial and zeal for souls, or with the intention of disinterestedly fulfilling the duties of their high calling.[30]

Paradoxical as it may seem, the seminaries, instead of remedying this abuse in the vocation of the clerical candidates by a thorough ecclesiastical training, rather imbue the future priest with a contempt for the duties of his state. "Russia," declares Mgr. Tychon, Bishop of Kostroma, "is utterly deprived of schools that deserve the name of clerical seminaries. The seminaries in Russia are, indeed, considered by some Russian prelates as schools of moral degeneracy, of political revolt, and sometimes even as the nurseries of real criminals." [31]

A Russian canonist, Ivan Suvoroff, writes that there is no country in the world where the life of the seminarists is so low morally and scandalous as in Russia. During the period

[29] Ibidem, pp. 16-31.

[30] *Missionerskoe obozrienie*, 1905, T. 1°, pp. 993-994.

[31] *Ecclesiastical News*, 1906, p. 569.

of the Russian political troubles (1906-1907) the police were obliged to close nearly all the seminaries, because the students openly advocated political nihilism, free love, subordination of the Church to the State, and the laicization of the clergy. They insulted their bishops, threatened their superiors and teachers, and at times used violence to disseminate their doctrines. The rector of the ecclesiastical seminary of Tamboff was shot by a young seminarist. In other seminaries the superiors had vitriol thrown on them or were roughly assaulted by their clerical pupils.[32] The *Theological Messenger* of Moscow gives a list and detailed account of the outbreaks and revolts that took place during the years 1906 and 1907, and the mere recitation of these violences confirms the severe arraignment of Krasin, that the ecclesiastical schools in Russia are in a condition of moral dissolution.[33]

No doubt the degeneracy of the Russian seminaries, as justly remarked by Mgr. Agathodore, Bishop of Stavropol, is due to the secular spirit which dominates them. The seminaries are nominally conducted and directed by members of the black and white clergy; but the great majority of the teachers to whom is confided the ecclesiastical training of the seminarists belong to the ranks of the laity. "It is evident," says Mgr. Agathodore, "that the decline of ecclesiastical life in Russia is a consequence of the lay rather than the clerical training in the seminaries. These schools might be made models of sacerdotal perfection, if only the teachers were at the same time the pastors of the students' souls. Doubtless, lay teachers are able to give the true sense of Holy Scripture, develop the truths of dogmatic theology, and conduct their pupils through the difficult paths of the early history of the church; but they lack the power of imparting to them apostolic zeal, simply because they do not possess it themselves. How can a lay professor point out the rules to be observed in the celebration of Mass, or teach the science of succoring and relieving souls in the Sacrament of Penance? It is perfectly

[32] Krasin, *The Ecclesiastical Training in Russian Seminaries,* Study of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kief, 1901, T. I, p. 713.

[33] Sokolov, A Painful List of the Ecclesiastical Seminaries during the years 1906-1907. *Theological Messenger,* 1907, T. II, pp. 230-246. Kosickij, The Causes of Decay of the Apostolic Spirit amongst the Russian Clergy. *Faith and Church,* Moscow, 1905, T. II, p. 411.

true that there is an antagonism between the teaching and the life of the lay professors in the seminaries. As a matter of fact, the spirit of the priesthood implies a denial of the world's ideal, whereas the spirit of the laity is all absorbed in it. A man, therefore, who dares not enter the priesthood, is incapable of revealing to his pupils its beauty, or of giving to them the spirit of sacrifice which it requires." [34] These words need no comment. The wholly lay influence in clerical training is the dissolving acid of the apostolic life in Russia. And it is no wonder that bishops like Mgr. Antonio of Volhynia advocate as a first condition of ecclesiastical reform the introduction of Catholic methods in conducting the seminaries.

A second reason for the want of zeal among the Russian clergy is the relative poverty of the priests. I have shown from statistics in *Chiesa Russa* that only a handful of parishes receive compensation from the public treasury; the remainder must depend for their sustenance on the produce of the soil, and the perquisites obtained in their pastoral ministrations. The large majority of the clergy are in consequence a body of landowners, or peasant proprietors. According to the opinion of writers in the *Ecclesiastical Messenger,* agricultural labor degrades the dignity of the priesthood. The priests who, like the moujiks, become husbandmen, are lost to intellectual pursuits. They prefer to discuss crops, and questions of sowing and reaping, horses, hogs, hay, and the like, with their parishioners, rather than to instruct them in Christian doctrine. They soon forget the little book knowledge they obtained in the seminaries, and are absorbed in the daily tasks connected with cultivating the soil. Thus they become of the earth earthy by their occupation.[35]

It must also be remembered that the offerings (taxes, in Russia) made for the administration of the Sacraments are very low in the villages. The average perquisite which the parish priest receives for solemnizing a marriage amounts to about thirty cents. It is only five cents for Baptism, and two cents for funeral services. So it happens that in many villages the income of the parish priest during the whole year from his

[34] *Ecclesiastical News,* 1906, pp. 212-213.

[35] Levitov, "Is it not time for the Rural Clergy to forsake Agricultural Labors?" *Faith and Reason,* 1896, III, pp. 172-177.

pastoral ministry, amounts to barely fifty dollars. Hence, unless the harvest is plentiful, a parish priest and his family are left in utter destitution.[36] In a letter addressed to Mgr. Antonio of Volhynia a parish priest speaks thus of his indigence: "My portion of land, the government salary, and the contributions of parishioners give me a yearly income of only four hundred dollars. This sum is insufficient for the needs of my family of seven. It would be useless to appeal to my parishioners for aid, because they are poorer than I am. The children who should be the joy of a Christian family are often for us objects of sorrow and remorse. My wife is economical and industrious, cleans the church, washes the altar-linen, tends to the sacred vestments, is satisfied with the most frugal meals; but she is unable to bear such a continuous strain; and to live in this misery, having received a fine education, is for her a continuous martyrdom. It happens sometimes that we must keep our sons at home for want of shoes, and grieve at the tears of our daughters who are ashamed to go to church for want of decent clothing. Our anxiety increases when our sons go to school and our daughters get married. We have not wherewith to educate the sons or dower our daughters. We die in misery and after our death our unhappy family inherits our debts and poverty." [37]

From these conditions it would appear that the parish priests are not allowed much time for the fulfilment of their pastoral duties. In addition to the necessity of earning his livelihood, the parish priest is overburdened with a great many civil functions. From statistics given in the *Ecclesiastical Messenger* we learn that the Russian parish priest must keep twenty and more books or registers at the disposal of the civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities. First, they have to take care of the *Metriki,* that is, of the registers containing minute accounts of the births, marriages, and deaths which take place in their respective parishes. These registers are to be kept in duplicate, one for the parish church, and the other for the archives of the consistory of the diocese. Secondly, the parish priests draw up also the so-called *News of Clergy,* a kind of parish record. This record demands a short historical sketch of the

[36] Strannik, 1906, II, pp. 702-707.

[37] *Pravolavny Sobesiednik* (Orthodox Lecturer), 1905, I, pp. 159-162.

parish church, a roll of those who have contributed to its foundation, a list and description of its altars, a detailed account of its furniture, lands, archives, incomes, and a history of the persons attached to the service (*pricha*) of the parish, including their names, remarks concerning their age, families, wages, titles, as well as an elaborate list of the parishioners, a topographical description of the parish, and a report of its spiritual condition. The parish priest must keep four copies of this historical record of his parish, a burden imposed since the year 1769. The system, however, has the advantage of furnishing very accurate sources for a history of Russian parishes.

Besides these two books, the parish priest is obliged to draw up a list of parishioners who have gone to confession within a year; a list of those who have neglected to perform this Christian duty; a list of the *Raskolnikis* (Russian schismatics) living within the limits of his parish; a register in which is recorded the degrees of consanguinity among the parishioners; a register of the military conscription; a description of the real estate of the church; a list of the liturgical books belonging to the church; the liturgical diary; a report of the sermons preached in the church; the original text of the same; a list of the acts (announcements) published by him and a summary of the same; a list of the acts sent to him by his parishioners; a detailed account for the dean on the state of the church, its clergy, schools, parish committee, parish library, the hospital of the village; the semestral account of the candles sold to them by the churchwardens, together with those that burn before the images of the saints; an account of the *vienciki,* or paper ribbons with which the Russian people are accustomed to bind up the foreheads of their dead; a book relating to the parish schools; a book of the receipts and the expenditures of the parish church.[38]

The simple enumeration of so many books and acts in the writing of which the Russian clergy must spend the greater part of their time, shows how the Orthodox Church is bound up by political restrictions, making it a government machine rather than a religious institution. But the bureaucratical

[38] Is Apostleship a Chancery Work? *Ecclesiastical Messenger,* 1906, pp. 1189-1193.

functions of the clergy are not limited to writing only the above-named documents. We may add that the political power does not scruple to harass the parish priest with demands for other and numerous documents that impose upon him a never-ending labor. Even private institutions or societies look upon the popes as upon their secretaries or scribes. An illustration may be given by citing here a circular letter addressed by the Russian Board of Health to the parish priests of Cherson's diocese. This document requests them to give the names, birthplaces, and family conditions of all midwives living in their respective parishes; to declare whether they are married, spinsters, or widows; how many years they have exercised their profession; how many women lying-in they had assisted; at how many difficult confinements they had been present during the year; how they had behaved themselves in the last-named cases, that is, had they sent for a physician or obstetrician or priest.[39] It may be said that every department of the Russian bureaucracy misconceives the clergy as men under the ban of the law, a slavery which the priests cannot throw off. Their bishops afford them no protection against the vexations of the civil officials, for the simple reason that the bishops themselves must court friendly relations with the secular powers.

It is plain therefore that the Russian priest is unable to lift his people from their condition of ignorance and religious stolidity. He finds little time to spend in reading or study. For lack of means he cannot subscribe to the theological reviews or purchase books for the parish libraries. The average Russian priest makes no secret of his ignorance of the sacred sciences; but it would be wrong, he claims, to hold him responsible for his ignorance. "We are called unlearned," writes a pope in the *Ecclesiastical Messenger,* "we are said to care little for the religious instruction of the people, for the Christian training of Orthodox children. But our defamers should not forget that each day of our lives numbers only twenty-four hours, whereas we need days of 124 hours to discharge all the duties enjoined upon us. It is true, we perform our liturgical ceremonies in a hurry, but remember that we have

[39] *Ecclesiastical News,* 1906, N. 9, p. 445.

no time for the care of souls. I dare to say that we would be greatly satisfied if the government fixed for us a definite number of working hours each day, as they have for the factories. . . ." [40]

A fifth cause of the decline of the sacerdotal spirit in Russia is to be found in the vice of drunkenness that extends its ravaging contagion among the clergy. To substantiate this grievous accusation it will suffice to quote the following extracts from the *Missionerskoe Obozrienie* (Review of the Russian Missions): "We want to confess that in the ranks of the clergy there are very many who drink, drink liquors, neglect the observance of Christian decency, a virtue against which Catholic priests are not accustomed to sin. This painful episode of Orthodox life is intimately connected with the low level of our intellectual standing. It cannot be denied that among the priests many are alcoholics. The Russian clergy are very far from obeying the prescriptions of the councils in the matter of temperance, and very far from caring for the true interests of the Church. Again, the clergy sometimes spread the vice of alcoholism amongst the people by supplying the peasants with vodka, in order to obtain their aid in agricultural labors." [41]

Statistics in an ecclesiastical magazine called *Strannik* (The Traveller) show that the moujiks spend a hundred times more for vodka than for travel. The Russian government realizes something like 500 million dollars yearly from duty imposed on vodka, albeit it is the most deadly poison of both soul and body.[42]

It is thus clear from Russian sources what is the condition of religious life and why the faith of Christianity professed in Russia is at such a low ebb. Doubtless there are other causes to account for the decline, such as the greed of a certain proportion of the clergy, the lack of interest of the priests in the decorous performance of liturgical worship, the neglect of catechizing, proper preaching, etc. But, in my opinion, these defects are of merely secondary importance; the true causes

[40] *Ecclesiastical Messenger*, 1905, pp. 1510-1511.

[41] *Missionerskoe Obozrienie*, 1905, Vol. II, pp. 17-19.

[42] *Strannik*, 1906, T. II, p. 419.

of the lack of the apostolic spirit in Russia are to be found on the one hand in the subordination of the Russian Church to the State, and on the other in the lack of apostolic freedom through the cares involved in the married life of its priests.

I have described without exaggeration the spiritual languor of the Orthodox Church from Russian sources. As a Catholic I have spoken of the spiritual sores of the Russian clergy with the deepest regret. We cannot forget that the Russian Church was at one time the most influential teacher of the Christian faith amongst the Slavic nations. It is true that this noble task was not accomplished by a clergy distinctly Russian, but by missionaries imbued with that spirit of unselfishness which characterizes the Catholic priesthood. But for centuries the Orthodox Church was a bulwark against paganism, impiety, and religious indifference. She brought happiness and peace in the message of Christ to millions of souls. She has filled and fills at present a gap in the Russian national mind in that she has deeply planted in it the conviction that the salvation of mankind must ever be sought in the Christian faith. These are benefits to be remembered, and the Catholic Church is mindful of the fact that the Russian Church has its divine mission in that we have to recognize the validity of its priesthood. The direful defects of the Russian apostleship are a natural consequence of the political slavery of the Russian Church. As a rule the Russian clergy have not asserted sufficiently their divine rights by withstanding the encroachments of the State. There are doubtless in the past history of the nation noble examples of heroic opposition to the excesses of political power; but the great bulk of Russian priests accepted the chains with which the State has bound them.

Whether some day they will break their fetters and reconquer the liberty of the sons of God remains a divine secret. But there is no doubt that the revival of the Russian Church must depend upon an alliance with a supreme ecclesiastical power that has never ceased struggling to obtain, proclaim, and apply the absolute freedom of Christ's Church from every secular authority whatsoever. The Russian Church knows well where such a supreme and independent ecclesiastical

power is to be found. Its union with the Roman Catholic Church would give to it that vigorous growth of apostolic life which it needs and the very root of which has been dried up by lay influence and State interference.

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THE MOUJIK AND THE VILLAGE "POPE."

THE FAITH OF THE MOUJIK.

AS soon as one crosses the frontier into Russia, he feels the necessity for making fine distinctions. The complexity of the Russian soul, the tangled mat of race roots that imbed him in the soil of humankind, the sort of life he is supposed to live officially and the sort he actually does lead, these elements call for a lot of unraveling. Thus, in matters of faith, the *moujik* may be either an Orthodox believer or a *rascolnik*. In the latter instance, he has no less than two hundred forms of dissent to follow; in the former he has apparently but one path to tread, Orthodoxy. Yet even in considering the Orthodox peasant (with whom alone we are concerned here) there must be made the distinction between the faith as officially taught by the Church and the faith as actually held by the moujik. The dogmas of Byzantine Christianity and their points of divergence from Catholicism are a study for the theologian. I propose to speak of the faith from the point of Ivan Ivanovitch. The story should hold no less interest for the theologian and for the parish clergy who face this same human distinction wheresoever peasantry compose the bulk of a congregation.

I.

Beside my inkpot lies a small bronze Maltese cross. On one face is stamped a wheel, a pair of wings, and some cryptic capitals; on the reverse, the name of a bicycle-maker of Miami, Ohio. This little cross was cut from the neck of a Russian soldier who died in the trenches at Port Arthur.

How this advertising bauble got from Miami, Ohio, to the shell-scarred breast of .203 Meter Hill, I cannot say. A fictioneer might weave a romance about it. All I know is that

he was a shaggy-haired youth, a peasant, and that the cross was upon him. The fact of his being a peasant lends reality to the presence of the cross. The fact of his being a youth, however, detracts somewhat from the reality the presence of the cross might have had for him. Had he been a man of middle age or one approaching old age, I should feel differently about it. To such a man the cross would have actually meant something, for by that time he would have begun his pilgrimage.

Every Russian child, at baptism, has a cross or an *icon* placed about his neck, and there it remains—or is supposed to remain—until death. Yet for the first half of life the symbol represents scarcely anything to him other than that which sentiment attaches.

Like youths the world over, his head is too full of play for churchly and religious things. When he enters manhood there are the stern problems of wrenching a meagre fare from the soil, problems that grow heavier as the years and family increase. His pleasures are few indeed, *vodka* principally. The Government, which controls the liquor monopoly, sees to it that he has enough since it decrees that each village of two hundred souls must have at least one *vodka tractir*. Moreover the peasant has neither the leisure nor the habit of mind to fit him for abstract speculation. In a word, he leads a rather Godless life for years.

By this it must not be supposed that the outward signs of devoutness are absent or that fervor is at all lacking. The standard of religion does not necessarily exclude a certain zeal in the observances of its required duties. From all appearances, the moujik's piety leaves nothing to be desired, yet, if you were to judge him by such things—by the reverence with which he mentions the Sacred Name or the ostentatious manner of his worship in church—you would set the peasant down as the most devout person. The inside of the cup is in a different state, however.

Russian students are divided on this question of the reality or non-reality of the peasant's religion. The Slavophils and the disciples of Tolstoi make him a romantically sacrosanct figure; the opposite body, of whom the most prominent is the historian N. Kostomiarov, claims that the modern Orthodox

peasants are at much the same pass to-day as were their forefathers, the Muscovites, of the seventeenth century, who were "remarkable for a state of such complete religious indifference as to be without parallel in the annals of Christian nations".

The difficulty in accepting wholly either one of these opinions is that neither is applicable to the entirety of the peasant's life. In youth and manhood he is a Godless soul save for his outward manifestations of reverence. In old age, he is quite another person. Should you chance to speak to a village *pope* on the lax morals of his men, he will shrug a shoulder and utter that characteristic *Niechevo*—what does it matter? Knowing the Russian soul, he rests assured that when age comes on, these Godless sons will turn to the church for strength and consolation.

Thus, up to a certain point in life, the peasant's mind is set not on things above, but on the bread and butter, or, more precisely, the bread and vodka side of life. Then of a sudden, stirred by repentance, by illness, by bereavement, by loneliness, or more commonly by the quickening of the quiescent fervor that is in the blood of every Slav, he looks beyond mundane things and centers his religion on the farther side of the grave. Work and play and drink alike become abominations to him. A restlessness creeps over his spirit. He wants to be on his way. The desire to "go up to Jerusalem" leaps like a flame before him. By the very act of wishing to go, he believes he has already begun the journey.

The phenomenon of the pilgrimage can be witnessed in Russia as nowhere else to-day. Along the city streets, down country roads, across the desolate steppes, you meet the pilgrims, in ones, in twos, in threes, sometimes in hosts. They are invariably grey-haired. Many are crippled. Neither poverty nor physical weakness, however, seem to resist the divine potentialities that this desire arouses in them. They may be journeying to Moscow, to Mt. Athos, to Kiev, or even to Jerusalem itself. Whatever the destination, the pilgrimage is the crowning act of the peasant's faith, just as the center of that faith is on the other side of the grave.

To the thousands that actually do go on pilgrimages, there are tens of thousands who are pilgrimaging, though they never

leave their dooryards. Often in traveling through the country you will put up at a peasant's hut and be told, somewhat to your embarrassment, that the grandfather of the household is very ill. He lies on a heap of dirty bed-linen off in one corner, and no one pays much attention to him. Investigation will prove him, like as not, to be a perfectly healthy specimen of rugged old age with actually nothing the matter with him. Try as you do, no amount of persuasion or threats will rouse the old fellow from his bed. And that, it seems, is the way with the Russian peasant. When he falls sick he knows, beyond the shadow of a doubt, he is going to die. Perhaps he may recover, but the lesson has been too real to him; and while his body is simply taking a rest cure, his spirit has turned its back upon this world and set its feet upon the road that leads up to the Spiritual City. Henceforth he will do no work save to prepare for death.

Dying prepared is the one thing that the moujik has reduced, if I might use the parlance of the day, to a fine art. He has a wholesome fear of dying suddenly, lest he be without absolution. He has a wholesome fear of dying without material preparations, lest he be buried in the shroud intended for another. So soon as he thinks he is going to die, he sets about making his shroud. It is sewed of a number of pieces of linen cut in a certain prescribed fashion. A wooden cross for the neck is carved, and that and the shroud are bundled together. Should the peasant go on a pilgrimage, he takes these with him.

When he dies, women prepare his body for burial, dressing it in the shroud and placing the wooden cross about the neck. Candles are set around the coffin, and in their light, nuns of the neighborhood read the Psalms until the time for interment. Then the church sends a richly embroidered pall to put over the coffin, for though it is nowhere written in the rubrics, the peasants believe that at death each man becomes a priest.

Thus far, with few exceptions, the faith of the moujik may appear to differ but little from faith the world over. The idea of death rarely appeals to a youth, and the average man, busy with his duties, has little time to think upon it. One usually associates thoughts of death with old age.

The point wherein the moujik differs from every other peasant is the fact that this peculiar attraction of death is the foundation and superstructure and capstone of his faith. Speak to him of the pre-Crucifixion life of the Lord, and he is not interested. The teachings, the parables, the miracles, the daily life of the Master as He moved among men, as He journeyed from place to place with His disciples—these things the peasant cares little for. But once you begin to talk of those few days following the Resurrection, those appearances and disappearances, those words whispered here and there upon the road by the Stranger—then the Russian peasant begins to take interest. He cannot understand the radiant human face of Christ, but he can understand the pale face of the dead Christ in Mary's lap. The same is true of his attitude toward the saints. With few exceptions a dead saint attracts him far more than a live one.

Should you judge the faith of the moujik in the terms of the West, you find yourself utterly at sea. We view life through the eyes of life, the Russian peasant views life through the eyes of death. To him, " Life is the night, death the rising of the sun ".

II.

There are several reasons to which might be attributed the moujik's uncanny feeling about death. It might be explained by analyzing his dual nature: the Mongol element of the East with all its detachment from life and its leaning toward a purely mystical conception of the world; and the Aryan element of the West which centers its religion in life, which loves the flesh, which believes in the reality of this world with all its victories over the forces of nature and its dreams of evolution, progress, and development. The West teaches the intense joyousness of life; the East, the joyousness of death.

The Russian is not the mingling of these two forces, as one might suppose, but he is the combination of them. The West is only a veneer; beneath it, and deep within him, is the spirit of the East. Napoleon was right about scratching the Russian and finding the Tartar. Thus you discover that even whatever of restiveness under the existing order of things possesses him, is not the result of the infusion of Western philosophy

and economic principles, but the Buddhistic denial of all absolute values, the Buddhistic tendency to destroy all things, to reject all authority. Were the peasant a man of some intellect, the influence of the West might be reckoned as one of his most important mental constituents. The reverse is the case, however, and one is obliged to look to the East for explanation.

However tragic it may sound, the fact remains that the moujik is in a less favorable mental and economic state to-day than is the American negro. In 1863 the negro was given his freedom. In 1861-6 the Russian serf, after four hundred years of bondage, was made a nominally free man. Up to that time he was bought and sold with the land. He and his wife and his horse composed a *tyaglo* or working unit. He married not at will, but on the bidding of the owner and to the woman the owner chose. He was made to worship as the Church directed. Then, by a stroke of the pen, the yoke was lifted.

The troublesome past fifty years in Russian history, its bloody strikes, its agrarian struggles, even its devastating famines, have all been the result on the part of the freed serf to find himself. To this day, if you ask a peasant what he wants of his government, he will acknowledge that, though he is conscious he wants something, he really does not know what it is he does want; mainly, it seems, he wants to be let alone. If, under the leadership of some more intelligent person, his desires be categorized and set down in a petition, they are utterly unreasonable. An example of the soul of the moujik under freedom was his feeling about the Duma. Perhaps it will be recalled that when the first Duma convened, its peasant members presented petitions to the government that, had they been granted, even the most firmly established nation would have been thrown into chaos. The petitions refused, the peasants lapsed into disinterestedness. When the elections for the second Duma came around, they refused to vote, saying that they really didn't care what was done up at St. Petersburg.

Like any man just relieved of the yoke, the peasant's freedom intoxicates him. He cannot grasp the infinite patience and endless labors by which a race of serfs is evolved to the high plane of civilization. He does not understand evolution. Under his hide he is an extremist, a revolutionist. When he

petitions his government, he demands the seizure and equal distribution of all State lands and private properties; when he works, he has no conception of lightening toil with play; when he drinks, he gets drunk; when he eats, he gorges; when he believes the end of life to be approaching, he cannot go on as do we at the day's toil and meet it while we labor, but he must begin to die from the moment he thinks he is going to. And with all the mystic, sombre, and obscure fervor of the East, he sets about making his shroud and carving his cross and stumbling on his pilgrimage.

In addition to these two—the feeling of the East toward death and the tendency toward extremes—there is still a third reason why death means a joyous thing to the moujik. He is, in reality, glad to die because it has been so very hard to live. Space does not permit the cataloguing of even a tenth of the miseries the peasant undergoes from his superiors and from his own innate weaknesses. He has very few chances for progress, and even if the opportunity is offered him, he seems to lack the stamina that is necessary for grasping opportunities and following them to their fulfilment. Little wonder that the Christ of the wounded hands and feet should have such an appeal to the peasant whose hands and feet also have been wounded! Little wonder that for him death is the gateway to life!

III.

I have said that, with some exceptions, a dead saint is more attractive to the peasant than a live one. In fact, all dead saints to him are very much alive. And behind this is a story other than the explanation of his interest in death.

We of the West look upon a religious object as a symbol; what reverence we pay it, we pay to the one the symbol represents. With the Russian peasant this is quite different. His icons and saints and ceremonies lose their signification as means to an end and become, as in the East, idols and ends in themselves. "In the eyes of the people," says Stepniak, "the icon is a living thing; the very body of the saint, whose spirit dwells in it as a man's spirit inhabits his corporeal frame. They believe that the icon feels pain and pleasure, resents insults, and is gratified by kind treatment, just as a living being would be."

These assertions, no doubt, will meet with denials from those who know the dogmatic side alone of the Orthodox Church. However, after being with the peasant in European Russia, traveling with him on his immigrant train to Siberia, and living elbow to elbow with him in far-away villages of the Russian East, the consensus of my observations is that, at heart, his religion is fundamentally idolatrous. This is not the fault of the Church, perhaps; nevertheless it is the state of affairs existing to-day among the Orthodox moujik body.

Writers of the picturesque dismiss this as "medievalism". The characterization is a misnomer. The peasant is not half so medieval as he is Oriental and pagan, and the Orthodox Church is scarcely above the same reproach.

To consider the Byzantine form of Christianity, as found to-day in Russia, apart from its distinctly Eastern and pagan elements, were mere folly. Here again the simile of the veneer is applicable. Whereas the Catholic Church avowedly has assimilated pagan customs and turned them to a rightful use, the Orthodox Church still works side by side with pagan rites that once constituted the body of primitive man's religion. It has gathered up many of the old ways, to be sure, but vestiges of others exist. In the church itself, the bewildering color of both architecture and ceremonial, the secretive nature lent the Mass by the intervention between the priest and the people of the ikonstran, the multitude of saints lesser and great, these can be defined as none other than Orthodoxy's Oriental elements manifesting themselves. Especially is this true when their parallels are found just the other side of the Urals.

The same St. Nicholas, the most popular of Russian saints, is also a deity among the heathen aborigines of Siberia. St. Vlas, the protector of flocks and herds, is worshipped by pagan members of the empire as Volas. The comparison could be carried down the entire martyrology with surprising results.

Though Russia is generally reputed to be the most religious country in the world, it is undeniable that the bulk of the population, which is peasant, has only the faintest conception of the framework upon which is based the religion to which it officially belongs. The peasant who can satisfactorily and intelligently give an explanation of the articles of his creed

is a rare exception. He will relate all sorts of legends and utter all manner of superstitions, but in the last analysis he knows more about the pagan customs that are his than about the Christian faith he nominally embraces. The fundamental ideas of the Christian theological system seem either to be misunderstood by the peasant, or to be lost under the predominance of pagan influences. One does not wonder at the Muscovite's inability to grasp the Divine Procession, since that was Orthodoxy's original point of divergence from the West; but it is surprising to see. for example, how the peasant mind conceives the relation between God the Father and God the Son. It is akin to an earthly relationship of father and son. They are two totally distinct persons. God the Son is held in great sympathy as the friend of the common people and the enemy of the rich, perhaps not so much a living personality warring against the foes of the down-trodden moujik, as he is conceived as being a lifeless, shadowy figure or power, a nemesis, a *deus ex machina* that appears at crucial moments in a story to solve knotty problems or give utterance to the popular view of things. God the Father, on the other hand, is a vague figure, usually considered a task-master and generally reputed to be unkind. In legends he is treated almost with hostility, the hero of the legends invariably trying to baffle the divine ordinances and to defend men from death as long as he can.

The Devil is held in an attitude of toleration. Of course, he is a thoroughly bad person who drives the trade of dragging people down to Hell; but since that is his business and he sticks to it faithfully, he should in no wise be despised. On the whole, the Devil is accepted with forbearance and kindliness. In one legend, that of "Noe the Godly", his Satanic Majesty is represented as the junior brother of God and fellow-worker in the creation of the universe. He is not the angel before the fall, as we hold him, but even at the time of the Creation, a bad person, a sort of foil to God.

The fabric of the moujik's conception of Heaven and Hell is so shot with apocryphal ideas directly traceable to pagan beliefs as almost to resist untangling. Just as on Olympus the gods wrangled among themselves and were unscrupulous to gain their ends, so the saints are pictured in the moujik's

mind. In fact, so chaotic is the fusion of pagan and Christian elements in his beliefs that to the observer it will be a moot point whether Orthodoxy has succeeded in transforming pure paganism into Christianity, or Christianity in the hands of the moujik has gradually been transformed into pure paganism.

Both the government and the Church in Russia have striven to stamp out pagan worship. The publication of pagan legends for the masses has been censored and by doubled missionary activity the Church is attempting to do away with many practices that are common among rural folk.

Numberless customs still exist, nevertheless. The sowing and reaping of crops is regulated not by seasons and climates, but by the almanac of saints's days and by lucky hours. Thus wheat will not germinate, they say, if planted at Easter, and cabbages to be any good at all must be set out on Maundy Thursday. There are also many days on which the peasant considers it unlucky to work; especially is this true of Easter week. Instead of laboring at this season, he goes on a prolonged drinking bout, and the last state of that man and his fields is worse than the first.

The moujik's respect for the native fays and sprites is very poetic, though explicable because of his life being lived close to Nature. Fishermen offer small propitiatory sacrifices to the river gods and godesses, the *roussalki;* and housewives offer sacrifices to keep the house fairies or *domovoi* in a contented frame of mind. The *roussalki,* by the way, are very pale and very beautiful nymphs who appear by moonlight in rivers and lakes and streams. Clothed in but a crown of flowers, they stroll about singing in choirs, or rest upon the bank to comb their long tresses. To be precise, they are neither fairies nor witches, but the souls of little children who have died unbaptized. The *domovoi,* or house fairies, are a very moodish sort. You must not mention their names after twilight, and if you ill-treat them, they will make sleep impossible. If your house is blessed with good domovoi who love you and your children, they will do lots of things for you—they will take care of the horses, watch over your daughter, see that she gets a good suitor, and will never let you or yours know starvation.

The *znakhar* or witch doctor is a regular institution in many villages, and though he apparently works in direct antagonism

to the local priest, he is held in much fear. By means of spells and incantations, this charlatan claims to cure all sorts of ills.

I discovered that, in the Salaiyeer Mountains, which lie two hundred miles south from the Trans-Siberian Railway in western Siberia, when the cattle or horses of a peasant farmer fall sick, he does not send for the veterinary, but for the local *shaman* or medicine man of the Kalmucks, who comes, and with a drum drives away the evil spirits. Now in that country there is a veterinary provided by the local government, and his services can be had for almost nothing, but the peasant seems to believe that the heathen medicine man effects the cure with more dispatch and efficiency. In the case of a man being bitten by a snake the shaman is always summoned. Yet these peasants were Orthodox believers before they immigrated to Siberia.

IV.

The characterization of Russia as "the most western of eastern nations", has already been touched upon in relation to the moujik's feeling toward death and the intense Oriental coloring and customs of the Greek Church. The influence of the East manifests itself in the soul of the moujik in still another fashion—the nature of his sects and the peculiar ease with which he reverts to an Eastern faith when once he is away from the direct influence of his church.

The first split in Orthodoxy came at the time of Nicon, in the seventeenth century, and was due mainly to the translation of the Scriptures and certain details of ceremony. Behind this schism, however, there was a distinct mystical leaning on the part of those who left the body of the church. The rascolniki clung to the old traditions, and for three centuries suffered tortures and privations for his belief. The mystical leaning is that which underlies all people whose formalism is inborn as is the Russian's. He has the formalism of the East, and its mysticism as well.

The later sectants, the Doukobors and Mullakons and the Strelyzic, and the host of other dissenting bodies that have appeared in Russia from time to time, also invariably have, for their point of divergence, some mystical conception of God and man's relation to Him that cannot be expressed in terms other than those of pure mysticism. Many, indeed, are pure pagan.

Perhaps one of the most astounding moments in the history of Orthodoxy came upon the promulgation of the Edict of Toleration some years back. To its amazement the Church found that many of its nominal members had long since embraced doctrines other than those taught by the Church, though for safety's sake they had been professing Orthodoxy. And just as in the East religion is divided and subdivided into a multitude of small mystical sects, so in Russia to-day, the sects grow with alarming rapidity.

The inroad of Islam, especially in Western Siberia, is another significant movement. Moslem traders coming up out of Turkestan, or going eastward on the Trans-Siberian, join their efforts to the proselyting by the Tartars already in Siberia. Against them the Church is sending missionaries with a view to stemming the tide.

But the most remarkable reversion to pagan and Oriental religions is found among the new settlers in Siberia, where the direct influence of the Church is not so strong as back in European Russia. The Government is desirous of building up Siberia as a colony, and for the quarter of a million immigrants who go thither each year, she makes the way easy. They are given lands and money and seeds and utensils. For the first three years taxes are revoked. Moreover, wishing to make good citizens out of the scattered tribes, the Government is encouraging the new settlers to intermarry with the natives, and this is being done effectively. The Church is also encouraging intermarriage with the view to making good Orthodox churchmen out of the native tribes. During the past few years, however, this movement has encountered a peculiar reversion: the second generation, instead of being Orthodox, reverts to the religion of the neighborhood. The moujik's innate pagan inclinations are well satisfied with the Shamanism of the tribes of Finnish stock, and in less populated regions Shamanism is rife among the new settlers. Siberia has always been spoken of as "the Jew's Paradise"; it is even more to-day the paradise of the dissenter. The Orthodox faith is submitted to very severe analytical tests; indeed, in Russia's East, and perhaps nowhere else, can one see so plainly its distinct elements—Orientalism and paganism—laid bare in the peasant's daily life.

With the same zeal that he exhibits for Orthodoxy in European Russia, the moujik accepts and practises the pagan rites in the new land. But whether you consider him in Russia or Siberia, in sickness or in health, in youth or age, this fact remains—his faith, nominally Christian, is only a rudimentary Christian faith, and he wears it like a coat. Beneath, he is still a Mongol from out of the East whose generations of living close to the soil have nurtured in him the primitive man's reverence for the divinities of Nature.

THE LOT OF THE VILLAGE "POPE".

In the preceding pages, I have endeavored to show the differences that exist between the faith taught by the Orthodox Church in Russia and the faith held by the peasant. Though outwardly Orthodox, the peasant is at heart pagan. Even Byzantine Christianity, we saw, labors with Shamanistic superstitions in its midst. When the direct influence of Orthodoxy is removed, the moujik either reverts to Shamanism or else, having acquired the semblance of an education, allies himself with one of the many dissenting sects.

The questions that naturally arise at this juncture are: Why does not the village pope, or priest, exercise his influence to prevent this corruption of the faith and morals? What is his position and influence in the village? What in the Church? What in the Government? What is his life like?

I.

Between the black clergy, the priests regular, and the white, the priests secular, is drawn a deep line of demarcation. The former comprise the executive and scholastic body of the priesthood. They live in monasteries endowed by the State, and although they are dedicated to a rigorous life of the counsels, they have not to face the problems of food and drink, shelter and raiment. To say that they lead an indolent life would be libel, as any religious knows. They are the cells in which is stored the kinetic spiritual energy of the Orthodox Church. Among them have been and are many humble saints and great workers of miracles, mystics and ascetics whose quiescent energy has strengthened the pulse of believers throughout the empire. Their material prospect, on the whole,

is that of the religious in Catholicism, except that they enjoy the possibility of being elevated to a bishopric, since it is from the black clergy alone that the bishops are chosen.

The white clergy, on the other hand, are the direct contact machines through which the Orthodox Church administers its sacraments, spreads its teaching to the masses, and wards off the attacks of foes. For them marriage is obligatory, and although they receive a small stipend from the State, the problems of a living, the demands of a wife and children and the support of a home are ever present. The death of the wife automatically renders them incapable of further parish work. They cannot remarry, and must either return to the laity or seek shelter in a monastery there to serve the will of the religious in some menial office until death.

Since the executive power of the Orthodox Church, the Holy Synod, is composed in the main of black clergy, it is the black clergy that have precedence in the eyes of the Church. The feeling between the two orders has long since passed the bounds of good-natured competition. It now resolves itself into the bitterest enmity, with the religious ranked higher than the seculars, and the seculars much in the position of the proverbial under-dog. The questions that confront them in their dealings with one another are not how much opportunity for Christian labor shall the white clergy have and how much the black, but how much of the ecclesiastical budget the one can take without making the breech between the two still wider. Pitiable is this battle for temporal power and pelf.

The lot of the white clergy is also rendered difficult by the fact that they are to an extent servants of the State. Thus, since Orthodoxy is the state religion, the Orthodox village pope is ostensibly charged by the Government with the supervision of the local activities and private life of his congregation. He is supposed to allay uneasiness, nip in the bud any revolutionary tendencies that may be brought to his notice, and, in some sections, he is even an agent of the dreaded Third Division with the sad duty of having to report to the police the politically recalcitrant of his village. Since the alarming spread of dissent that followed on the promulgation of the ukase for religious freedom a few years back, the village priest has been considered not so much the shepherd of his

flock, the guide in morals, the consoler in grief and the counsellor in doubt, as an untiring suppressor of heterodoxy, an ecclesiastical militant, a persecutor of the raskolniki. In addition, he has a function that in other states has long since devolved upon the secular authorities. As a civil marriage does not exist in Russia, the contract being held valid only when consecrated by the Church and registered in the Church books, the pope is the authority in the local bureau of vital statistics. He is the registrar of births and marriages and deaths in Russia.

For filling this dual rôle of priest and state servant, the Government of course sees that he is given a stipend. The budget of the Holy Synod for the past year shows the following item: "For town and country clergy, missions and missionaries, 14,800,715 roubles." Seven million four hundred thousand dollars seems a large sum, yet if it were divided equally between the rural clergy and the missionaries, the village priest's share would not exceed 100 roubles a year. As matters stand, a huge part of that appropriation is spent for missions, the remaining sums being apportioned in the following manner: to the rector of an influential parish in a large town, 144 roubles ($72) per annum; in a medium-sized parish, 108 roubles ($54); and to the smaller ones, 72 roubles.

Should a priest show marked skill in proselyting, he is promoted to a parish in Poland, Lithuania, or the Baltic province, where the Government and the Church, both anxious to maintain their prestige, provide a large house with grounds, a good school, and a salary of from 1,000 to 1,500 roubles a year.

This sliding scale of stipends demonstrates the reason for the average priest's paradoxical position in the eyes of the Government. Though an indirect servant of the State, he cannot be granted the wage that will permit him to exceed in social appearance and position the local direct representative of the Government, the captain of gendarmes or the ispravnik, the district chief of police. The Government knows well that the moujik is swayed by ocular proof, hence the ecclesiastical must never rank above the civil. Here Church and State are at loggerheads, with the poor white clergy once more the under-dog.

Besides the pope's position in the Church and in the State is his position in society. Frankly, he has none. The fact of a man being of the white clergy works the opposite effect that it does here in America or in Britain where we give the parish clergy entrée because of their office. The nobility in Russia look down upon the village popes, and in the country districts the landed proprietors generally hold them in scorn, except when they can be used to advantage to further their own ends.

This attitude has been brought about by the ancient caste system that used to obtain among the clergy, and their lack of education. Until the end of the last century it was the understood though unwritten rule that no pope's son could enter a profession. Thus the body ecclesiastical was a thing apart. Moreover there were ranks in the white clergy that no one dared transgress. No son could hold an office higher than his father held—a pope's son had to become a pope and a vicar's a vicar. The office was hereditary, and in some villages the pope's family had held the living for generations. This system of castes has been dissolved by permitting popes' sons to enter the service of the State, with the result that on university staffs and in officers' messes can be found innumerable sons of the rural clergy.

Time was when the educational requirements for the pope were absurdly insignificant. The mere knowledge of how to read and write and the learning of a few psalms by heart was all that his examiners demanded of him. This too has changed, and now the level of education among the village clergy is much higher, and is being raised every year.

Public opinion formed through the ages does not change so quickly, however, and for some time to come the village pope must suffer the slights from society that he once deserved because of his professional restrictions and his ignorance.

Meantime, what is his life in the village like? What is his position there? What does the moujik think of him?

II.

The factor weighing heaviest in the balance of a pope's private life is the obligation imposed upon him that he be married. In the few weeks intervening between his graduation from the seminary and his appointment to a living he must

find a wife. She is invariably chosen from among the daughters of the clergy. As the bishop is *ex officio* guardian to all priests' children, he generally has a list of marriageable girls on hand to offer the young candidate. Perhaps the seminarist may never have seen the girl, or perhaps he may be in love with another; yet he finds it politic to humor the bishop's whims and marry the girl chosen. Often enough the marriage is entirely lacking in those elements which we generally consider the fundamentals of betrothal and matrimony.

The girl's side of the problem is even more difficult. She is obliged to bring to her fiancé a dowry—a sum of money, wool and silk clothes, tea and table service and furniture. How the poor village priest manages to scrape together such an expensive dot, nobody knows. Marriage between the children of a priest and of the laity can be solemnized only after a special dispensation. Few, indeed, try it. As for a peasant's daughter marrying a penniless pope, what girl would dream of it?

In this way it has come about that a pope marries a pope's daughter. Should the young priest die, the support of the children devolves upon the bishop. Should they be very young, they are sent off to a home. If one of the children is a girl not yet of marriageable age, the bishop permits her to live on with her mother in the father's place until she is old enough to marry a graduating seminarist. The living, meanwhile, is left vacant. The young priest who marries under these circumstances is to be pitied: he has not alone poverty to face and a round of exacting duties, but he must live with his mother-in-law!

From the foregoing it must not be thought that happy marriages among the clergy are non-existent. In fact, most of them are happily married and their home life is the one bright spot in the village. The attitude of the Church, on the other hand, makes the whole system a farce. When the young deacon has been married and given his living, he goes home and lays away his wedding ring never again to wear it.

I can see no other reason for this cold-blooded enforcement of marriage on the white clergy than an act perpetrated by the Orthodox Church to contrast with the discipline of the Latin Church, and to act as a rebuke to what Orthodoxy considers

the evils of celibacy. If the marriage were enforced because the Church thought it strengthened the morals of the clergy and served as a good example for the community at large, then it would not enforce the second ruling which provides that, should a priest's wife die, he is thereby rendered incapable of further parish work and must either return to the laity or retire to a monastery.

Having acquired his wife and his appointment, the young priest settles down in his living. The church has been erected by the municipality, so that, in most cases, the new pastor has little of the material fabric of the church to worry him. It is to the moujiks that he must look for his house. According to custom, this is provided by the congregation; and since it is a costly item, the new encumbent finds it difficult, at times, to persuade his people to furnish him with a fit dwelling place. Once the wife, the living, and the house problems are settled, what prospect lies before the young priest?

In the spiritual realm there are the church services, with perhaps a chapel or two to attend. He must tramp or ride this circuit, reading services, attending to the spiritual wants of his flock. If there is a school in his village, he takes a class in religious instruction; if there is no school, the children must come to his house. This house, in addition, must always be ready for the welcoming of officials, of visitors, and of strangers who do not care to put up at the village inn.

His material prospects are dependent on the charity of the people and the bounty of the crops, together with the $38 he gets from the State. In his circuit of the parish he generally collects fees in kind,—a measure of meal, a piece of hand-made lace, a loaf of bread, a bunch of radishes. Often however the sodden peasant simply sets out the vodka bottle and tells the pastor to help himself. If he refuses to drink, he will not be welcomed the next time he comes that way, for the peasant holds such a refusal as a sign of hostility; if he does accept, he returns home to his wife and children with a befuddled head. And a word here on the drunkenness of the Russian village clergy, a pet theme of anti-Russian polemicists. It is true that drink has such a hold on the poorer white clergy that the Holy Synod has been obliged to include in the questions on a pope's service list, " To what extent does he indulge

in intoxicating liquors?" It is also true that the habit is forced upon him by circumstances. He hates vodka, he knows its damnable results—but what can he do? Preach against it, refuse to accept it—and he cuts off his own bread and butter and the food and drink and raiment of his wife and children. It is well enough for critics to offer hypothetical suggestions; the fact remains that the pope, like the peasant, is the product of a system centuries old; and until that system is changed moral discrepancies must result.

Consider, then, the moneys upon which he must maintain his family and himself in a decent and seemly condition. The stipend from the budget of the Holy Synod, and crops from two-thirds of the glebe land (his share generally amounts to 58 acres), and the perquisites accruing from the performance of baptisms, marriages, funerals, births, and other private services, these support him. Should the crop fail, the stipend and the perquisites must pay the running expenses. Under no circumstances can he permit the fees to fail. This is a hard and fast rule. He has a set price and he cannot lower it. The peasant must pay if he wishes the service. He may rebel against the price, but eventually he comes back and hands over the necessary sum. Because of this open bartering in holy things the peasant looks upon his priest as merely a merchant in sacraments. In his heart he has no respect for the priest, and the priest neither exercises any moral force over the peasant nor enjoys his confidence. "Be born," say the moujiks, "get baptized and married and die,—and pay the pope for everything."

The ill-feeling the moujik holds against the pope is explained by the fact that he represents the machinery of the Church which demands exorbitant rates for its land. According to the last reckoning, the Church possessed 2,500,000 *dessaitin*,[1] most of it exceedingly fertile land. This is let out to the peasant at a high rate, and instead of improving the land, as have done the Christian Brothers in France, the Orthodox Church is content with collecting high rates and permitting the peasants to make such improvements as he needs, so long as he pays for them. Again, the moujik is ever aware

[1] Two and two-thirds acres.

of the fact that the pope represents the Church that has persistently fought the education of the masses. It is the Church, not the State, in Russia that is to blame for the prevalence of illiteracy. Here again we find the Church and State at variance, with the peasant, in this instance, the under-dog.

Once the moujik has become convinced of his grievance against the pope as a representative of the Church, once he has conceived him as an enemy of the people, a symbol of the power he distrusts, he ceases to look upon him as anything other than an ordinary human being. The matter of his high calling, the holiness of the sacraments he ministers, carry little weight after that. Yet it must not be thought that the moujik has a personal grudge against the pope as a man. His attitude is quite the opposite. He calls the priest "Batchuska", little father, and greets him with, "Batchuska, come have a drink!" and "Batchuska, look at our new calf!" As a rule it is the offer of a drink. The attitude of the well-to-do peasant resolves itself into, "Well, poor fellow, he's not to blame, so give him something when he comes around."

When a priest's inferiors rank him as one of their own class, when his superiors pity him, his days of influence in the community are numbered. Without respect there can be no regard for authority, without authority no obedience. Thus the house of cards tumbles down.

In the last analysis the thinking peasant (and there are many such) has the very same ideas of what constitutes ethical goodness and what elements go to make a leader of men. "The type of saint as conceived by our peasant," says Uspensky, "is not that of an anchorite timidly secluded from the world lest some part of the treasure he is accumulating in Heaven might get damaged. Our popular saint is the man of the *mir*, a man of practical piety, a teacher and a benefactor of the people."

III.

Despite the dark picture that the foregoing paragraphs may limn, there are brighter sides to the village pope's life, and many a compensation. There are years of abundant harvest; there are the love and care of wife and children; there are faithful folk and true in the congregation; there are humble

saints in those shaggy obstinate moujiks that must bring cheer to the pastor's heart.

Whatever discouragement a priest encounters, there must be always a divine compensation that we of the laity can never know. It is not the silver lining that comes in a priest's dark cloud when he dreams of promotion: it is subtler and a more potent urge that is vouchsafed him. It is the true *élan vital* that makes of the humblest, most despised cleric a superman of the Levites, a priest after the order of Melchisedech. The world can deny him enough food and drink, but it cannot take from him the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The wrangles of Church and State, the neglect and scorn of his congregation may make the pope's log house a mean place, but in no measure can it deprive him of the divine grace that makes his heart its home. It is when the pope is before the altar that the compensation must come. Like a contact point on an electrical machine that sparks and flames as the power surges through it, he stands with hands uplifted, hands that reach Heaven. Surely there is power given him then that none but he can know! Surely the transmuted gold of his heart's adoration is more glistering than the gold upon his back!

Innumerable writers on the Russian village pope have commented on the change that comes over him once he has donned his vestments and taken his stand before the ikonstran intoning in a voice unbelievably sweet the words of his liturgy. The bulk of such writers acknowledge that the humble priest is transformed at that moment into a noble of rank higher than the nobility itself. They say it is the psychological effect of the rich vestments he wears, the mysterious atmosphere of incense that enclouds him, and the glory of a hundred lighted tapers. Those who know better give a reason less tangible, for they hold that at that moment he is elevated to divine estate. Perhaps his lot is not so unhappy after all.

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IS THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS THE SACRIFICE OF THE CROSS?

IN the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW for November, 1900, August, 1911, and October, 1913, the Right Rev. Alexander MacDonald, D.D., Bishop of Victoria, B. C., sets forth and defends at considerable length his strange and peculiar view on the formal essence of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.[1] The great bulk of post-Reformation theologians (including such giant intellects as Suarez, De Lugo, Lessius, Vasquez, Belarmine, Franzelin, Stentrup, Hurter, Lehmkuhl, Billot, etc.), he writes, have erred from the way of truth and taught theories on the formal constituent of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which conflict with the traditional faith of the Church of Christ. Leaving the plain way of simple faith in the oneness of Christ's Sacrifice trodden by the Schoolmen and the Fathers, they lost themselves in a maze of theory and speculation.[2]

I.

This is a serious indictment and is tantamount to saying that the Catholic priesthood of the world has been led astray by its teachers for the last four hundred years in regard to the inner nature of the Sacrifice they offer daily at the altar; but the promise is held out that if they will only accept the ideas of the Bishop of Victoria, they will again become orthodox and regain the lost ancient faith of the first fifteen centuries.

When we call up in review the brilliant array of Catholic theologians against whom the doughty Bishop unsheathes his sword, we cannot but suspect that there must be some misunderstanding in the mind of his Lordship or some flaw in the arguments he presents. This suspicion grows stronger when we observe doing service in favor of this new opinion

[1] The term "formal essence" may be "unscholastic", as the Bishop contends, since the schoolmen were not strong on English expressions; but it is constructed on scholastic lines to express the specific difference between a sacrifice and other offerings made to God. The scholastics called the genus—animality in man for instance—the "pars essentiae materialis", and the specific difference—rationality for example—the "pars essentiae formalis". From this latter, for want of a suitable English expression and to avoid clumsy circumlocutions, I coined the phrase "formal essence", meaning that part of the essence which gives to the thing its specific form. His Lordship found no difficulty in understanding what is meant.

[2] REVIEW, Aug., 1911, pp. 171, 177; Oct., 1913, p. 418.

all the old Protestant Scripture arguments, such as, "By *one* offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified," etc., which were employed in the sixteenth century to support their denial of the reality of the Sacrifice of the altar. As might be expected, therefore, when this recent theory is subjected to the test of a critical examination, we find that it is at variance with the teachings of the Catechisms, the Schoolmen, and the Fathers, and that it was rejected in advance in the dogmatic decision of the Council of Trent.

Bishop MacDonald's View.

The Bishop maintains that the one physical bloody immolation of Christ on the Cross is the formal constituent of the essence of the Sacrifice of the Mass. The fundamental argument used to sustain his view is the identity, as he understands it, of the Sacrifice of the Cross and the Sacrifice of the Mass. He cites at length in support of his opinion the ordinary Catechisms, the Council of Trent, and some of the Scholastics and Fathers of the Church. But he overlooks the fact that, whilst his authorities affirm the identity of the two sacrifices, they all point out at the same time the difference between them. Yet when the authorities cited proclaim the difference, the Bishop shuts his eyes and argues identity throughout. "The Church has always taught," he writes, "the identity of the Sacrifice of the Cross and the Sacrifice of the Mass. They are one and the same Sacrifice. Thus all the catechisms placed in the hands of the faithful teach, and such has been the faith of Catholics from the beginning. But they cannot be one and the same Sacrifice unless the sacrificial action in both is the same. In the strict and proper sense the action is the sacrifice. It is the formal constituent of the sacrifice. Hence an essential difference in the action is an essential difference in the sacrifice. Though the priest be the same and the victim the same, if the action is different, there will not be one and the same but two different sacrifices. In order, therefore, that the Sacrifice of the Cross and the Sacrifice of the Mass be the same identical sacrifice, both must have the same sacrificial action; as a consequence, it is the physical immolation, which was made once for all on Calvary, that gives the Mass its sacrificial value and makes it a real sacrifice."[3]

[3] Review, Nov., 1900, p. 455; Aug., 1911, p. 177.

If the premises of the foregoing argumentation were solid, its force would be irresistible; but the whole argument is built upon the sand. Neither the Catechisms nor the Council of Trent nor the Scholastics nor the Fathers teach the absolute identity between the Sacrifice of the Cross and the Sacrifice of the Mass.

The Catechisms against the Bishop's Opinion.

The Catechisms tell us that the Mass is one and the same sacrifice as that of the Cross for two great reasons: first, the priest offering, Jesus Christ, is the same; and secondly, because the victim offered, Christ Himself, in both sacrifices is the same. But these Catechisms all expressly declare that the two sacrifices differ in the manner of offering: that the Sacrifice of the Cross was offered in a bloody manner and the Mass in an unbloody manner. If the good Bishop had only completed his quotations from the Catechisms they would have refuted his whole thesis.

Q. Is the Mass a different sacrifice from that of the Cross?

A. No; because the same Christ, who offered Himself a *bleeding* victim to His heavenly Father on the Cross, continues to offer Himself, in an *unbloody* manner, by the hands of His priests on our altars. (*Butler's Catechism.*)

Q. Is there any difference between the sacrifice of the Cross and the sacrifice of the Mass?

A. Yes; the manner in which the sacrifice is offered is different. On the Cross Christ really shed His Blood and was really slain; in the Mass there is no real shedding of blood nor real death, because Christ can die no more; but the sacrifice of the Mass, through the separate consecration of the bread and wine, represents His death on the Cross. (*Catechism of the Council of Baltimore.*)

Q. Is the sacrifice of the Mass the same as that of the Cross?

A. The sacrifice of the Mass is the same sacrifice as that of the Cross, since in both the one and the other Jesus Christ is the priest and the victim; but it differs in the way in which it is offered.

Q. What is this difference in the way in which it is offered?

A. The difference consists in this: that in the sacrifice of the Cross Jesus Christ really died and shed His blood; in the sacrifice of the Mass, which is a commemoration of that of the Cross, He is the Victim without the shedding of blood. (*The Pope's Catechism.*)

The *bloody* and *unbloody* victim is still one and the same. (*Catechism of the Council of Trent.*)

All other Catechisms and manuals of religious instruction to which Bishop MacDonald so confidently appeals lay down exactly the same doctrine. They expressly teach that the Mass is not identical with the sacrifice of the Cross in the manner of offering; that in the one there is a bloody immolation, in the other an unbloody one. It is impossible, therefore, that the physical immolation of the Cross, which the Catechisms exclude from the Mass, could be the very essence of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

MANNER OF OFFERING MEANS BLOODY OR UNBLOODY.

It must be observed that the Council of Trent and the Catechisms and manuals of instruction in the hands of the laity, and in fact all the Fathers and theologians both before and since the Reformation, not only state that there is a difference between the two sacrifices "in the manner of offering" (leaving us to affix any meaning we prefer to the words), but they also distinctly affirm that the manner of offering is different because one is made in a bloody and the other in an unbloody manner. They leave no room for the Bishop's newly-found interpretation, that "manner of offering" signifies "offering now by the ministry of His priests".

"In every sacrifice, strictly so called," writes his Lordship of Victoria, "we distinguish three things: (1) priest; (2) victim; (3) the offering and immolation of the victim. The two first may be called the material elements, the last the formal element, of the sacrifice." All theologians agree with the Bishop in holding that these three appertain to the essence and substance of a sacrifice.

ACCIDENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CROSS AND MASS.

Besides the essential difference in immolation there are also accidental differences between the sacrifice of the Cross and the Mass. On the part of the Victim, Christ on the Cross was mortal and passible; in the Mass He is immortal and impassible; on the part of the High Priest, His action on the Cross was meritorious, but not so in the Mass; He directly offered the sacrifice of the Cross, but He offers as "offerens

principalis" the Mass by the ministry of His priests; the sacrifice of the Cross merited grace and satisfied for sin, whereas the Eucharistic Sacrifice only applies the fruits of the Cross; the former sacrifice was an absolute sacrifice and the picture of no other sacrifice, while the Eucharist is not only a real but also a relative sacrifice representing the sacrifice of the Cross.

The Three Essential Elements of Sacrifice.

All these differences, however, are extrinsic to the nature of the sacrifice, and theologians unanimously teach that, notwithstanding these divergences, if in any two given sacrifices the three essential elements (priest, victim, and sacrificial action) are identical, they must be pronounced one and the same sacrifice. Any theologian, therefore, who would undertake to enumerate the points of sameness and difference between the Cross and the Mass and say nothing at all about the immolation would not deserve the name of scholar. The Bishop, however, would have us believe that the Council of Trent in its dogmatic decree, where it sums up the points of identity and diversity between the Sacrifice of the Altar and the Cross, forgot to specify whether the immolation—an essential element—was identical or not.

The Council of Trent condemns the Bishop's view in advance.

In proving that the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice, the Council appeals to the fact that the same Christ is priest and victim in both. The Council does this twice in the same section: first in the "pars dispositiva", and again in the "pars argumentativa". In both places we find a perfect parallelism with the three essential elements of sacrifice clearly indicated:

> Et quoniam in hoc divino sacrificio, quod in missa peragitur, idem ille Christus continetur, et incruente immolatur, qui in ara crucis semel seipsum obtulit, docet Sancta Synodus sacrificium istud vere propitiatorium esse. . . . Una enim eademque est hostia, idem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio, qui se ipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, sola offerendi ratione diversa. Cujus quidem oblationis, cruentae, inquam, fructus per hanc incruentam uberrime percipiuntur.[4]

[4] Conc. Trid. Cap. II, De sacrificio missae.

		Priest	Victim	Immolatfon
Pars Dispositiva	Mass	Idem Christus continetur	et ille	incruente immolatur (unbloody)
	Cross	qui	seipsum	in ara crucis obtulit (bloody)
Pars Argumentativa	Mass	idem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio	Una enim eademque est hostia	sola offerendi ratione diversa (unbloody)
	Cross	qui	seipsum	tunc in cruce obtulit (bloody)

According to the Bishop, "sola offerendi ratione diversa" refers not to the manner of immolation (bloody or unbloody), but to the difference between Christ offering Himself directly as on the Cross or offering Himself through the ministry of His priests, as in the Mass. But grammatically and otherwise the words are a qualification not of the "Offerer" (for this question was disposed of in the second clause of the "pars argumentativa"), but of the "offering", which the Council had previously in the "pars dispositiva" pronounced different by distinguishing the one as bloody and the other as unbloody. It is therefore of Faith that the manner of offering or mode of immolation in the sacrifice of the Cross is different from the sacrifice of the Mass; and consequently the bloody immolation of Calvary cannot be the formal constituent of the Sacrifice of the altar. Moreover, when the Council says: "The only difference is in the manner of offering", it must have in mind essential differences, and the only essential element left unmentioned is the kind of immolation, bloody or unbloody. If the words could be understood to mean accidental, extrinsic differences, such as that given by the Bishop, the decree of the Council would be false, as there are other extrinsic differences between the two sacrifices. In point of fact the Council itself points out two differences, the one, extrinsic,—Christ offering the sacrifice of the Cross without the interposition of

any one and offering the Mass by the ministry of his priests; the other, essential,—the immolation bloody on the Cross, unbloody in the Mass. When therefore the Council decrees that there is only one difference, it must mean an essential difference, which can be naught else but the kind of immolation.[5] It is therefore evident that only the exigencies of his theory could have prompted the learned Bishop to give his impossible interpretation of the Council of Trent.

It may be well here to note that the Council nowhere employs the terminology that the sacrifice of the Cross and the sacrifice of the Mass are one and the same sacrifice. "One and the same priest, one and the same victim" are the carefully selected words of the Fathers of Trent.

WHY WE SAY THE SACRIFICE OF THE CROSS AND THE MASS ARE ONE.

How then has it come into common use, and why do so many Fathers of the Church and theologians teach that the sacrifice of the Cross and the sacrifice of the Mass are one and the same, when the sacrificial action, the immolation, is essentially different. The answer is obvious. When two things are the same in two of three essential elements and differ in one, we cannot as a rule declare that they are identical or different without adding some explanation. If we were to proclaim that the sacrifice of the Cross and the sacrifice of the Mass are different sacrifices, it would convey the false and heretical notion that there is a different victim every day, as in the olden sacrifices, and that the priest, at least within certain periods, is different also. To define that the sacrifices are different and then explain wherein they are the same is not so well calculated to preserve the proper notion of the dogmatic truth involved as to pronounce them identical (since they are the same in two out of three points; from which two the whole

[5] "Ratio offerendi" may be translated literally as "manner of offering", or, *secundum sensum*, "kind of oblation" (bloody or unbloody). I translated it according to the true meaning it has in this passage, "kind of oblation", to exclude the false notion the Bishop tries to attach to it. Aside from the context, "manner of offering" might mean "offering in a bloody or unbloody manner",—the ordinary signification it has in all Catholic writings, or "offering directly Himself or through the ministry of others". The Bishop objects to an accurate translation and clings to the generic—"manner of offering"—in order to smuggle his false meaning into it.

value of the sacrifices is derived), and then call attention to the difference. Moreover, in the presence of the infinite the finite need not be considered. In both sacrifices the priest and victim are the same and they are infinite. In weighing the value of both, the sacrificial action or "modus offerendi" counts for nothing, while the infinite dignity of the priest and victim gives infinite worth to the sacrifices. It must be remembered that any act of Christ, even the slightest prayer, was of infinite value and infinitely sufficient for our redemption, and would have wrought our salvation, if God had deigned to accept any of them for that purpose. But death on the Cross was chosen by the God of mercy, not because of its intrinsic value, but because death was the penalty placed on sin and because of the powerful appeal to the human heart that death for the love of man carries with it. The Cross and the Mass are, therefore, called one and the same sacrifice because the same infinitude of priest and victim, giving infinite worth to both, is found in both, whereas the immolation, so vital in other sacrifices (though it gives sacrificial character to the Cross and the Mass and thus distinguishes them from the other acts of Christ), contributes nothing specific toward the end effected —the Redemption or the application of its fruits—and becomes by comparison with the infinity of the priest and victim, so to speak, accidental, and is therefore frequently neglected when emphasizing the identity of the two sacrifices.[6]

All the Fathers who treat the question, including those quoted by Bishop MacDonald, assign as their reason for saying that the Cross and the Mass are one and the same sacrifice the identity of the victim and the identity of the priest, but never the identity of the immolation.

[6] Cardinal Franzelin's explanation showing how the sacrifices are identical in spite of the different sacrificial actions, does not meet the Bishop's reasoning so satisfactorily. "Sacrificium non est tantum res oblata seu victima per se spectata, nec actio offerendi abstracte sumpta, sed est in concreto victima, quatenus actione sacrifica offertur. Hoc sensu concreto *quale* sit sacrificium, magis desumitur a re oblata et ab ordine sacerdotii destinati ad offerendum sacrificium, quam a modo actionis sacrificae. Unde propter identitatem numericam victimae et sacerdotis principaliter offerentis in sacrificio crucis et in sacrificio Eucharistiae affirmandum est, utrumque *simpliciter* esse idem (specie) sacrificium, diversum vero dici debet nonnisi cum addita restrictione et *secundum quid*. Est enim diversitas in modo offerendi seu in actione sacrifica, quae non solum numero, sed specie differt in sacrificio cruento et incruento".

St. John Chrysostom not favorable to the Bishop.

St. John Chrysostom, quoted by the Bishop to substantiate his theory, does not vary from the rest of the Fathers. He writes: "We always offer up the same; not one sheep to-day and to-morrow another, but always the same. *Wherefore for this reason it is one sacrifice.* Are there then many Christ's, seeing that He is offered up in many places? Not so; but one Christ everywhere, who is here entire—one body. Since, then, He that is offered up in many places is *one body,* not many bodies, *so the sacrifice is one.*" [7]

St. Augustine Orthodox.

St. Augustine, the Bishop tells us, speaks of the Mass as "the sacrifice of our Ransom".[8] From this he argues acutely: "But it was the bloody immolation which ransomed or redeemed us. Therefore, in the mind of St. Augustine, it must constitute the specific essence of the Mass." This great Doctor of the Church, however, calls the Mass the sacrifice of our Ransom in the sense that it applies to us the merits of the Passion and is a figure and representation of the ransoming Sacrifice. Trent teaches that the Mass is not the sacrifice which redeems us (and surely St. Augustine is not a heretic on this subject), but it presupposes the redemption completed on the Cross in all its infinite fullness and only applies to us—and the sacraments apply also from the same inexhaustible treasury—the fruits of the bloody Sacrifice. He left us a sacrifice "quo . . . illius (cruenti semel in cruce peragendi) salutaris virtus in remissionem eorum quae a nobis quotidie committuntur, peccatorum *applicaretur*". "Cujus quidem oblationis, cruentae, inquam, fructus *per hanc cruentam* uberrime percipiuntur".[9] According to the Bishop, wherever you have a redeeming sacrifice you have the bloody immolation, and wherever you have the bloody immolation you have a redeeming sacrifice. By the same logic, where you have not a redeeming sacrifice, as in the Mass, you have no bloody immolation, and therefore no foundation for the Bishop's theory. Q. E. D.

[7] Hom. 17, in ep. ad Heb., N. 3.
[8] Confessions, Bk. 9, Ch. 12, No. 32.
[9] Conc. Trid. De sacrificio Missae, Cap. I, II.

ALGER, THE SCHOLASTIC, OPPOSED TO THE BISHOP'S THEORY.

The Bishop quotes Alger, a twelfth-century Scholastic, as saying: "If our daily sacrifice were other than that once offered in Christ it would not be true but superfluous." But his Lordship fails to cite the further words of this Scholastic, which deal a deadly blow to his theory. Alger adds: "He (St. John Chrysostom) does not say that our daily sacrifice is a figure of that which was once offered, in the sense that he would constitute here or there an essentially different Christ, but in order to show that the same Christ, who was offered once on the Cross, is daily offered and immolated on the altar *in another manner*; there in the verity of His Passion . . . . here in the representation and imitation of His Passion. . . . There is not, therefore, diversity in Christ Himself, but *in the action of immolation,* which, whilst it represents the true passion and death, invites us to imitation".[10]

BISHOP'S OPINION FOREIGN TO THE MIND OF ST. THOMAS.

As an example of special pleading, the Bishop's attempt to drag St. Thomas over to his view could not easily be surpassed. The Angelic Doctor puts the question: "Utrum in hoc sacramento Christus immoletur? In this sacrament is Christ immolated?"[11] This could mean, if we take immolation in its wider sense: "Is Christ sacrificed in this sacrament?" or, if immolation is understood in its strict, specific sense: "Does Christ shed His Blood sacrificially in this sacrament?" St. Thomas, however, had already answered the question, taking "immolation" in its wider sense of sacrifice, in a preceding article.[12] There he wrote: "Hoc sacramentum simul est sacrificium et sacramentum; sed rationem sacrificii

[10] L. I, de Sac. corp. et sang. Dom., C. 16.

[11] "Duplici ratione celebratio hujus sacramenti dicitur immolatio Christi: primo quidem quia, sicut dicit Augustinus ad Simplicianum, solent imagines earum rerum nominibus appellari quarum imagines sunt; sicut cum intuentes tabulam aut parietem pictam, dicimus: Ille Cicero est, et ille Salustius. Celebratio autem hujus sacramenti imago quaedem est repraesentativa passionis Christi, quae est vera ejus immolatio. Et ideo celebratio hujus sacramenti dicitur Christi immolatio. . . . Alio modo quantum ad effectum passionis Christi, quia scilicet per hoc sacramentum participes efficimur fructus dominicae passionis. . . . Quantum igitur ad primum modum poterat dici Christus immolari etiam in figuris veteris Testamenti. . . . Sed quantum ad secundum modum, proprium est huic sacramento quod in ejus celebratione Christus immoletur." III, quaest. 83, s. 1.

[12] III, 79, 5 corp.

habet, in quantum offertur, rationem sacramenti in quantum sumitur". Here the Angel of the Schools uses the word in its specific sense of "bloody sacrifice". This he shows when he says: "The true immolation of Christ is His Passion". But the Passion was a bloody immolation, and therefore to the Saint in this passage "true" and "bloody" immolation are the same. In answering the question St. Thomas says: "The celebration of this sacrament is called the immolation of Christ in a twofold sense: first, because the Eucharist is a picture and representation of the Passion, which is His true immolation; and, secondly, because in this sacrament we are made sharers in the fruits of His Passion." If St. Thomas thought for a moment that the immolation on the Cross constituted the formal essence of the Mass, he was bound to mention it in this place under pain of stating a falsehood. Instead of saying that "immolation" could be predicated of the Mass in two ways, he would have been obliged to say: "it can be predicated of the Mass in three ways: (1) "ratione immolationis realis", (2) "ratione symbolicae representationis", (3) "ratione applicationis fructus passionis". When, therefore, he says immolation can be affirmed of the Mass in two ways, he excludes every other way and denies that the physical immolation of the Cross is the essential constituent of the sacrifice of the Mass.

Further discussing the question of the two ways in which Christ can be said to shed His blood (*immolari*) in the Mass, he continues: "As the sacrifice of the Old Law also pictured forth Christ's Passion, we can say that He was immolated in this metaphorical sense in them; but as they did not apply to men the fruits of the Passion, immolation is not predicated of them in this meaning, but only of the Mass."

All this to the contrary notwithstanding, Bishop MacDonald calmly writes: "According to St. Thomas the mystic immolation, which has place in the Mass, does not differentiate it from the sacrifices of the Old Law. It is the real immolation which makes the Mass a distinctive sacrifice; and yet it has place only in this sense that the fruits of it are applied to us through the Mass. Therefore according to St. Thomas it is the real immolation of Christ upon the Cross, perennial in its efficacy, which makes the Mass the distinctive sacrifice of the New Law."

The sacrifice of the Mass is the only sacrifice that applies the merits of the Passion, and therefore this power of applying those fruits is a mark that distinguishes the Mass from all other sacrifices. But it does not give the Mass the intrinsic nature of a sacrifice. It supposes the sacrifice essentially constituted. It is the effect of the sacrifice, not its " causa formalis ". St. Thomas permits the word " immolation " to be predicated metaphorically of the Mass for the two reasons given, but in contradistinction to this he insists that the " true immolation " was on the Cross. When we take the word " immolation " as the Saint does, for " blood-shedding ", everything is as clear as crystal. There is no blood-shedding in the Mass except in the twofold metaphorical sense mentioned, for the true blood-shedding was on the Cross. But if " immolation " were to be taken as the Bishop takes it, for " sacrifice ", it would make a heretic out of St. Thomas. For when he denies that the " vera immolatio " is in the Mass, he would deny at the same time that there was a " verum sacrificium " to be found therein, contrary to what he had taught in a preceding chapter cited above, and contrary to the Council of Trent, which says: " Si quis dixerit, in missa non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium . . . anathema sit ".[13] The terms " verum et proprium sacrificium " can be predicated of the Mass, but St. Thomas teaches that Christ's " vera immolatio " can only be affirmed of the Passion. In his mind, therefore, " vera immolatio " does not mean " verum sacrificium " but " vera sanguinis effusio ". But when the Saint says that the true blood-shedding was on the Cross, it does not follow that there is no true sacrifice (which is unbloody) in the Mass, and that therefore in order to make the Mass a true sacrifice we must essay the impossible and hold that the blood-shedding on the Cross is the formal essence of the Mass. As we say above, St. Thomas teaches that the Mass is a sacrifice, but he nowhere discusses what is the formal cause which makes the Mass a sacrifice.[14]

[13] Conc. Trid. Sess. XXII. de Sacrificio Missae, Can. I.

[14] Vasquez also appeals in vain to St. Thomas in support of his theory that the representation of the Passion is the formal constituent of the Mass. When the Saint tells us that the sacrifices of the old Law had this in common with the Mass that they were also representations of the Passion, he has no intention of saying that such representation was the formal essence of those sac-

The Catechism of the Council of Trent against the Bishop.

The Bishop in support of his new-fangled theory lays great stress on the teaching of the Catechism of the Council of Trent. "Its teaching," he tells us, "may well be taken as the authentic interpretation of the Council." But like all the other authorities to which he so positively appeals, the Catechism gives as the reason for affirming the oneness of the Cross and the Mass, the identity of the priest, and the identity of the victim; but not the identity of the immolation, which it holds to be different, the one bloody, the other unbloody. "Neque *cruenta* et *incruenta* hostia duae sunt hostiae, sed una tantum." The words of the Catechism could not be clearer: "Unum et idem sacrificium esse fatemur, et haberi debet, quod in missa peragitur, et quod in cruce oblatum est, *quemadmodum una est et eadem hostia,* Christus videlicet Dominus noster. . . . . *Unus etiam atque idem sacerdos* est Christus Dominus".[15]

Holy Scripture Argument Futile.

His Lordship quotes abundantly from Holy Scripture to show the oneness of Christ's sacrifice. He might as well gather together all the texts enunciating the unity of God and then cry out triumphantly that he had disproved the Trinity.

The old answer of the Schools takes all the force and life out of the Bishop's argument: "The Scriptural oneness of Christ's sacrifice excludes any other sacrifice which would re-

rifices, but on the contrary he again and again teaches that those olden sacrifices had their own proper sacrificial action. In like manner, therefore, when he says the Mass is a representation of the Passion ("imago quaedam est representativa passionis Christi"), he does not mean to make this the formal constituent of the essence of the Mass, but presupposes, as in the case of the Old Testament sacrifices, that it has its own proper immolation so performed as to picture forth the Passion.

When St. Thomas furthermore writes: "The Mass has the character of a sacrifice inasmuch as it represents the Passion of Christ" (III, q. 79, ad 7), and again, "It has the character of a sacrifice in as far as it is offered" (III, 79, corp. 5), he merely emphasizes the relative element of the sacrifice in the first place and the absolute in the second. In the first quotation he wishes to affirm that by divine institution it is of the essence of the Eucharistic sacrifice that it should be so carried out that it be a representation of the Passion. He explains the same idea elsewhere thus: "The body must not be consecrated without the blood, because the consecration must present a picture of the Passion" (III, q. 80, a. 12, ad 3). But a sacrifice can have all the essential elements of a sacrifice and picture forth in addition a former or a future sacrifice.

[15] Pars 2da. 82, 83.

deem the world or add to the satisfaction and merits of Calvary, but it does not exclude a sacrifice by which those merits are applied to our souls and the redemption objectively complete is made subjective. If the fullness of the merits of the Cross does not exclude the sacraments by which such merits are applied to men, it cannot exclude a sacrifice which performs the same function."

Argument from Melchisedech valueless.

"But," continues the Bishop, "St. Paul says that Christ offered Himself on the Cross as a priest according to the order of Melchisedech, which is exactly what He does in the Mass. Therefore both must have the same immolation."

Melchisedech was a figure of Christ both "ratione personae" and "ratione rei oblatae". St. Paul's argument to prove the superiority of the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ to the Levitic is drawn from the personality of Melchisedech and not from his oblation. It runs thus: Melchisedech, who was only a type of Christ, was greater than Levi. *A fortiori* Christ, then, is greater than Levi. The Apostle proves that Melchisedech was greater than Levi especially from two facts: (1) Melchisedech blessed Levi in his father Abraham: "But without contradiction, that which is less is blessed by the better";[16] (2) Abraham and in him Levi gave tithes to Melchisedech: but the inferior pays tithes to the superior. Therefore, Christ's priesthood was higher than the Levitic because Melchisedech who only prefigured Christ was higher; consequently, the sacrifice of Christ, the Second Melchisedech, on the Cross, "ratione dignitatis personae" was greater than the sacrifices of the sons of Levi. St. Paul further argues the superior dignity of Melchisedech and therefore of Christ: (a) "ratione nominis"—King of Justice; (b) "ratione urbis"—King of Peace; (c) "ratione genealogiae"—without father, without mother; (d) "ratione originis et finis"—hidden in silence: (e) "ratione sempiternitatis sacerdotii"—a priest forever; but he institutes no comparison "ratione rei oblatae", because as an "argumentum ad hominem" it would not appeal to the Jews.

[16] Heb. 7:7.

THE PASCHAL LAMB FURNISHES NO PROOF TO THE BISHOP.

"The Mass," his Lordship still urges, "is the Christian Pasch; but St. Paul says of Christ on the Cross: 'For Christ our Pasch is slain'. Therefore, the immolation must be the same in both."

As in the Mass and on the Cross two out of three essential elements are the same (the priest and the victim), it is clear that any figure that foreshadows the one must also foreshadow the other in those points wherein the two sacrifices are identical. The sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb represents the Cross: (1) "ratione victimae,"—the Immaculate Lamb of God; (2) "ratione immolationis,"—bloody; but not "ratione destinationis ad esum". It represents the Eucharistic Sacrifice: (1) "ratione victimae"; (2) "ratione esus"; but not "ratione immolationis". The sacrifice of Melchisedech prefigured the Mass: (1) "ratione sacerdotis"; (2) "ratione immolationis incruentae"; and (3) "ratione specierum", but it prefigured the Cross only "ratione sacerdotis". From the fact, therefore, that Christ on the Cross and in the Mass is called the Paschal Lamb and Melchisedech, it does not follow that the immolation (which is essentially different in the Paschal Sacrifice and the sacrifice of Melchisedech—the one bloody, the other unbloody) is identical in the sacrifice of the Cross and the Mass.

ANALOGOUS ARGUMENT FROM DIVINE CONSERVATION WORTHLESS.

The analogy the Bishop draws from the conservation of creatures is not to the point. "Conservation," he says, "is continued creation, not two actions but one continued act. Similarly the Mass and Calvary are not two sacrifices but one sacrifice continued; for the action which made the Cross a sacrifice, the efficacy of which endureth for evermore, is continued forever in the Mass." Christ, the priest and victim of Calvary, existed before the first Good Friday and still exists. He had the *intention* of sacrificing Himself from the moment His human nature was created. "Wherefore when he cometh into the world, he saith: Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldest not: but a body thou has fitted to me. . . . Then said I: Behold I come; in the head of the book it is written of me that I

should do thy will, O God ".[17] The only difference between Christ before Calvary and on Calvary is the bloody immolation. If there had been no bloody immolation, there would have been no sacrifice on Calvary. In order therefore to continue the sacrifice after the manner of the conservation of creatures, the bloody immolation, which by its nature is a transitory act, would have to be continued. But this is an utter and absolute impossibility, Bishop MacDonald to the contrary notwithstanding. Christ's continued will to sacrifice Himself does not constitute a sacrifice unless it produces an external immolation, which can never be a past action but only the continual new immolations of Himself in the Mass.

Moreover, " the endurance for evermore of the efficacy of the Cross " does not make the sacrifice endure, because the efficacy has no entity, but only exists in the mind of God, who has accepted the satisfaction offered and bestows grace accordingly for evermore. This efficacy is shown in the sacraments, which are not thereby made a continuation of the sacrifice of the Cross.

God could have continued the *status victimae* of Calvary, but He has not done so, nor could such continuation make the Mass a sacrifice without a new and proper immolation of its own. The conservation of creatures, therefore, which by their nature are something permanent, furnishes no parity or warrant for saying that a transitory act, such as Calvary's bloody immolation, can likewise be continued in existence.

IF IMMOLATION BLOODY, MASS NOT AN UNBLOODY SACRIFICE.

In reply to my objection that if the bloody immolation of the Cross is the formal constituent of the Mass, we would have to call the Mass a bloody sacrifice, just as we call the Cross a bloody sacrifice (because its formal constituent is the bloody immolation), and thus fly in the face of the Council of Trent, which pronounces the Mass an unbloody sacrifice, the Bishop, after hemming and hawing about " not laying too much stress on the word *unbloody*" and the difficulty of the Council " applying to things eternal the language of the things of time ", and the necessity of " interpreting the decree of Trent in the light of earlier teaching ", finally says that " outwardly the

[17] Heb. 10: 5-7.

Mass is an unbloody sacrifice; inwardly it is a bloody one". The Council however makes no such distinction, but affirms without restriction that the Mass is an unbloody sacrifice. But to use the Bishop's own argument: "Sine addito dici idem est ac dici simpliciter et secundum totam essentiam". It is therefore absolutely unjustifiable to alter the decree of the Council and say that the Mass is only outwardly an unbloody sacrifice, whilst inwardly it is a bloody one.

THE BISHOP'S FALLACIOUS USE OF THE WORDS "BLOODY" AND "OFFER".

It is here that the Bishop, who advises most of us to study a little more "Scholastic" philosophy, shows his own mastery of the Scholastic teaching on "Fallacies", by trying to get out of an inextricable difficulty by having recourse to two fallacies of equivocation. The first is in the use of the word "bloody" as applied to sacrifice. Its real meaning is a sacrifice wherein there is shedding of blood (*sanguinis effusio*). But the Bishop, in order to dodge the decree of Trent that the Mass is an *unbloody* sacrifice, while still holding to his theory that the *bloody* immolation of the Cross is the formal constituent of the Mass, explains that "the Mass is a *bloody* sacrifice because Christ is offered and *there is blood in his body*". According to this, holy Simeon offered a bloody sacrifice to God of the child Jesus, because forsooth the blood was in the Child's body and was therefore offered to God. His second fallacy is found in the word "offer", which he uses here in the generic sense of "handing over something", whereas when employed with sacrifice its ordinary meaning is sacrificial offering, "offering by immolation". It is in this equivocal sense that the Bishop exclaims so unctuously, substituting rhetoric for argument: "Shall not we priests of the New Law, lending our hands and our voices to Him who is Priest forever after the order of Melchisedech, be deemed to offer [not sacrificially—no sacrificial action in the Mass] still the Sacrifice of our Ransom [just think of it—the Sacrifice of the Cross] when we appear daily within the holy place with the Blood of the Victim [the words of consecration do not, according to the Bishop, place Christ in *statu victimae* so that "we priests" offer Christ just as the Blessed Virgin did on the day of her Purification] that

blotted out on Calvary the handwriting of the decree that was against us".

The Fact of an Unbloody Immolation in the Mass Defined.

His Lordship is only trying to confuse the issue when he says that "the Council did not define the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice". But the Council defined that the Mass, celebrated within the walls of the cenaculum at the Last Supper, or offered within a half hour in one of our churches, is a "true and proper sacrifice", having all the essentials of sacrifice. The two questions must be kept apart: (1) Has the Mass an immolation—a sacrificial action—proper to itself and different from the bloody immolation of the Cross? (2) What is this sacrificial action in the supposition that the Mass has one proper to itself? The Council did not pass on the second question, but it *defined the first question affirmatively,* as we have already seen. Bishop MacDonald *answers the first question negatively,* and therefore it is useless to discuss the second question with him. In his view there are not two immolations, a bloody one on the Cross and an unbloody one in the Mass, but only one—the bloody immolation of the Cross.

The Last Supper would exist before its Formal Essence existed.

To understand further how this bloody immolation can be the formal constituent of the sacrifice of the Last Supper, *offered the evening before,* requires some mental gymnastics; nevertheless the Mass and the Last Supper must have the same immolation because they are the same sacrifice. "Do this," i. e. what I have just done at this Supper, said Christ when instituting the Mass. To evade this difficulty the Bishop lowers the Last Supper to the rank of a mere ceremonial offering and the Mass to the preparation and distribution, while the only real sacrifice was on the Cross. Yet the Fathers of Trent teach, "Si quis dixerit in missa non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium . . . anathema sit." In what sense then does the Bishop call the Mass a sacrifice, since there can be no sacrifice without a sacrificial action. Because, he says, it is a continuation of the sacrifice of the Cross inasmuch as it

is the Communion with the victim of the Cross. But the continuation or repetition of a non-essential part of a sacrifice, such as the Commuion, is not a sacrifice. Moreover in that case, since the Mass and the Last Supper are essentially the same, we will have to hold that the Last Supper is also a *continuation of something that came after it*,—the Sacrifice of the Cross.

OTHER ARGUMENTS OF THE BISHOP ALREADY ANSWERED.

All the other arguments of the Bishop, taken from Holy Scripture, the Fathers, the Missal, and emphasizing the oneness of Christ's sacrifice are exploded by the distinction, which we all learned in seminary days, and given above, between a redeeming sacrifice and a sacrifice which merely applies the fruits of the Redemption. His Lordship shows marvelous erudition and untiring industry in gathering together citations from all quarters to bolster up his theory, but he—well I will not return his compliment by saying that "he is woefully deficient" in the power of interpreting them,—but simply that he invariably fails to grasp the true meaning of the authorities he invokes.

This brief examination of the theory and arguments of Bishop MacDonald on the "formalis et intrinseca ratio sacrificii Missae" clearly shows that his view is not only opposed to the teachings of all the leading theologians since the Reformation, as he admits, but also to the doctrine found in all Catechisms and manuals of instruction in the hands of the laity, and that it was unknown to the Fathers of the Church and cannot be reconciled with the decrees of the Council of Trent.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

M. J. GALLAGHER.

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THE CRUCIFIX.*

CIRCUMSTANCES deterred the early Christians from a general use of the figure of the cross. It was still later that the crucifix was employed as a symbol by the Church. There were sound reasons which made the use of the crucifix inexpedient, even long after Christianity had become the recognized religion of the Roman Empire. Though the faithful were now secure from persecution and insult, they were still a minority, surrounded by the adherents of paganism; and, as Christianity gradually spread to the barbarian tribes beyond the confines of the Empire, the Church was constantly being brought face to face with fresh forms of idolatry in Africa, Asia, and Northern Europe. A very slight study of folklore is sufficient to prove the fact that heathenism dies hard. Even when active opposition to Christianity has ceased, and whole tribes have outwardly accepted the Faith, old customs and superstitions have still lived on. To the present day, for example, after nineteen centuries of Christian teaching, the Druidical veneration of the mistletoe has, in England, still a traditional regard; and Midsummer's Eve yet sees the hill-tops ablaze with bonfires which, though meaningless now, once proclaimed the devotion of the fire-worshippers dwelling within the British Isles. Now if such things are still found amongst us—though now indeed innocent of any idolatrous intent, but eloquent of the vitality of pagan customs—it is not difficult to divine what result would probably have followed the introduction of the crucifix into a world almost wholly heathen. Guided by a divine instinct, the Church manifested a wise self-restraint; and it was only as the decay of idolatry in the West removed this danger that she allowed herself to contemplate the image of the Redeemer.

Early Symbols of Christ.

Nevertheless there was felt from the first a deep yearning for the help toward devotion which the eye is capable of rendering, although the necessity of caution and prudence

* *Il Crocifisso nell'Arte.* Autore Sac. Dott. C. Costantini. Prefazione del Prof. P. Vigo. Ornati del Prof. L. Zumkeller. Firenze: Libreria Salesiana Editrice. This is one of the most recent and important publications on the Crucifix from an artistic and archeological standpoint. It is by our well known contributor, the artist priest, P. Costantini.

confined the faithful to the use of symbolic, rather than historic figures. Even in the days of the Catacombs, the vine, the dove, the lamb, and the Good Shepherd, were employed, with a meaning obviously Scriptural in origin. Again, the fish—specially recommended with the above emblems, by St. Clement of Alexandria, as a device for seals and rings—was frequently in use, as setting forth in an anagram (by means of its name in Greek) the words "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour". These were all common forms calculated to suggest Christian teaching to the believer, without exciting any comment from the heathen.

Development of the Cross.

Meanwhile the simple cross was yearly growing more familiar to the people as the emblem of the Christian religion. Its earliest form seems to have been that known as the "Fylfot" (like four Greek gammas, joined at the base); a design that, equally with the emblems above described, served to suggest the sign to the Christian without offending others. But so rapid was the change which took place consequent on the conversion of Constantine that, as early as the Papacy of John I (A. D. 400), crosses were carried in church processions.

Development of the Crucifix.

The next step was the natural one of combining with the cross one or other of the emblematic figures which were already accepted as referring to the Crucified. The lamb, with the cross, therefore became a common symbol of the Crucifixion during the first six centuries. In its most restrained form, the sacred monogram surmounted the head of the lamb, as employed on the labarum of the Empire when Christianized. Occasionally the figure was not so much a type as a representation of the Redeemer, by having five bleeding wounds in its feet and side. Later the same emblem appeared, often with a cruciform nimbus about its head, carrying a slender cross on a tall shaft, or a banner charged with a cross. Similarly, a long staff, instead of the pastoral crook, was sometimes placed in the hand of the Good Shepherd. In all these the emblem of Christ was the prominent feature of the design, the cross being entirely subordinate.

As it became possible to be less guarded in displaying the ensign of faith, this order was, to some extent, reversed. On the fifth-century tomb of Gallia Placida, at Ravenna, the lamb stands on a mount (signifying the "Lamb standing on Mount Sion", of the Apocalypse) with behind it a cross, from the arms of which depend the Alpha and Omega. Again, the lamb lies at the foot of the cross; an arrangement apparently referred to by St. Paulinus of Nola in the words: "Christ in the lamb stands beneath the Cross all gleaming with His Blood".

A more decided approximation to the crucifix was made when the lamb was placed on the cross, at the joining of the arms and the shaft. An interesting example of this occurs on a slab unearthed at Wirkswoth, in Derbyshire, England, during the restoration of a church in 1820. It is part of a tomb which dates from the seventh century.

THE CRUCIFIX.

Not until the sixth century do we begin to meet with the crucifix in its purity. The famous Vatican cross, given by the Emperor Justin (elected 519) to Pope Gregory II, exhibits an interesting stage in the transition from the emblem to the figure of Christ. The sacred lamb still keeps its place on a medallion in the centre, while a half-length figure of the Saviour, in the act of benediction, is on the upper limb of the cross; and another figure (probably St. John the Baptist) is on the lower limb; and on the arms themselves are the effigies of the Emperor and Flavia his wife. In the library at Munich a book of the Gospels, supposed to have been executed in the sixth century, has a cross which terminates above in a kind of arch, under which is a bust of Christ, while the Alpha and Omega hang from the transverse beams. Fortunatus gives us the first undoubted reference to a crucifix, made in relief about A. D. 560; and St. Gregory of Tours refers, some thirty years later, to a painted crucifix at Narbonne.

In the process of time the cross itself seems to have been regarded, not so much a suggestion of the Crucifixion, as an emblem of Christ. A curious and striking example of this meets us on a tomb in the church of St. Apollinare at Ravenna, where the artist has depicted the Transfiguration with a

strange union of realism and symbolism. Moses and Elias are on either side; the hand above suggests God the Father; three sheep stand for the favored Apostles, SS. Peter, James and John; and in the centre is, not Christ, but the cross.

Conciliar Authority for the Crucifix.

It was the perception of such a tendency, perhaps, which led the Greek Fathers, at the Council in Trullo (A. D. 692), to feel that the time had arrived for a more emphatic assertion of the personality and human nature of the Redeemer in sacred art. At any rate, they thus decreed: "We order that, instead of the Lamb, our Lord Jesus Christ shall be shown hereafter in His human form in the images; so that, without forgetting the height from which the Divine Word stooped to us, we shall be led to remember His mortal life, His passion, and His death, which paid the ransom for mankind."

The alteration was, however, completed as cautiously as it had been begun; even the method of production partaking of the restraint exhibited in the development of the subject. Probably the earliest crucifixes had the figure simply etched in outline; later on, it was painted upon the cross; and, lastly, it became a partial or complete relief. The final stage was not reached (unless in a few exceptional cases) until the ninth century.

To the seventh or the eighth century belongs the earliest crucifix in the Catacombs; and Pope John VII (in 706) dedicated the first mosaic example in St. Peter's at Rome. Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Jarrow (690), brought from Rome the first picture of the crucifixion of which there is any record in the north of England. And St. Augustine, when advancing with his monks to his first conference with King Ethelbert of Kent, was preceded by a silver cross and the crucifixion painted on a panel.

Opposition to the Crucifix and Images.

It was not long before an objection to the use of the crucifix and images was seriously raised both by the Iconoclasts and the Eastern Church. An iconoclastic spirit revealed itself now and again in opposition to the growing use not only of the crucifix but also of images of the saints and patriarchs;

but it made no headway in the West. Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, having broken down some images in a church, was reproved by Pope Gregory on the ground that "in paintings on walls those who are unable to read books can read what in books they cannot."

In the East, however, the movement aroused much bitterness and led even to persecution. In 726 Leo the Isaurian began an attack on all use of images, and a council at Constantinople in 752 rejected them altogether. This decree was not accepted generally as final; but in the end the Eastern Church settled down under a compromise (which is still maintained) by which pictures, in painting, mosaic, or engraving, are permitted, but all reliefs and statues are forbidden.

What is probably the oldest crucifix in the world is that in the Monastery of Xeropotami, on Mount Athos. It is amongst the few crucifixes in the East that survived the destruction consequent on, first, the iconoclastic persecution, and then their final condemnation. This interesting crucifix consists of an alleged fragment of the true cross, with two transverse pieces —the upper (and smaller) one representing the superscription. On these lies a small ivory figure, and below, in gold and jewels, is a representation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is said to have been a gift from the Empress Pulcheria (A. D. 414-453), a fact which may account for its preservation.

Character of the Early Crucifixes.

The history of the development of the crucifix does not end when the divine effigy assumed the place of the type upon it. The earliest artists made no attempt at realism in moulding or carving the figure. On the contrary they distinctly avoided it; and the crucifix continued to be emblematic. The truth which they aimed especially at setting forth was the voluntary character of our Lord's self-sacrifice. Therefore Christ is generally clothed in a robe reaching to the feet, which are placed side by side upon a supporting ledge; the outspread arms do not hang, but lie straight across the transverse beam; the head is erect; the eyes frequently, if not usually, are open, and look straight forward; the side is not pierced, and often the hands and feet show neither wounds nor nails.

Others of these early crucifixes set forth the thought of Christ as King ruling from the Tree, in unison with that line of the famous hymn Vexilla Regia: "Regnavit a ligno Deus"; and the figure is here royally crowned and robed.

A crucifix that has become historical is the "Holy Face of Lucca", by which King Rufus of England was in the habit of swearing under the name of the "Face of St. Luke". Tradition ascribes the workmanship to St. Luke, but this crucifix really dates from about the eighth century. On it are combined the character of King and Priest, the figure being crowned, and clad in a dark sacerdotal vestment.

In these crucifixes there is no appeal to the emotions, no petition for pity on behalf of agonized humanity; but an impressive declaration, on the part of the artist, of his strong faith in the Godhead of the Sufferer.

Development of Crucifix was Slow and Irregular.

It is not to be supposed that the steps in the various stages in the development of the crucifix followed in a regular procession. As a matter of fact the different phases overlapped considerably; and now and again a rare specimen is found that antedates considerably the age to which a strict classification of style would assign it.

Mrs. Jameson, in her *History of Our Lord, as exemplified in Works of Art,* gives an instance of a very early pectoral crucifix which, while coinciding for the most part with the description just given, nevertheless represents Christ as dead, with closed eyes, and the head (uncrowned) slightly inclined.

The crucifix known as the "Cross of Lothario", in the treasury at Aix-la-Chapelle, belongs to the ninth century, and yet it has the arms hanging, the head fallen, and the short loincloth, much as we see them to-day.

Furthermore, as art ripened more slowly in some lands than in others, so in some it clung for a longer period to the older forms; while several of the primitive emblematic figures have become parts of the Church's permanent teaching for the eyes of her children. The builders of the Norman churches in England had a special fondness for the Agnus Dei (the Lamb bearing the Cross), and we find it worked into their carvings

in various ways; of which the ancient fonts at Ilam and Tissington (Derbyshire, England) are curious examples.

The attempt to bring within the narrow limits of a cross other details, actual or mystical, of the atoning Sacrifice, is another peculiarity of the early crucifixes which distinguishes them from historic representations of the crucifixion. Many of them have more or less conventional signs for the sun and moon on the upper limb, or on the arms, of the cross. Sometimes these are simply a circle (with or without rays) and a crescent; and in this case they are merely emblems of the powers of creation witnessing the death of the Creator. Sometimes they are more fanciful, as when they are suggested by male and female figures within circles, wrapping their faces in their mantles; and here they are symbols of the supernatural darkness of the first Good Friday.

The Blessed Virgin and St. John the Divine were frequently placed on the arms of the cross, beyond the sacred hands. An example exists in the museum at Copenhagen. It is a beautiful enamelled crucifix, which was the property of Dagmar (the "Darling Queen" of Denmark), on whose breast it was buried in 1212.

Again, at the top is often found a hand, in the attitude of benediction (the symbol of God the Father), while at the foot writhes the serpent that has been vanquished.

Many of the more elaborate examples of crucifixes had the reverse side engraved, usually with appropriate Old Testament types, such as Adam's fall or Abraham's sacrifice. But, almost the only emblematic additions to the crucifix which have survived in use to our day are the Apocalyptic symbols of the four Evangelists (still often found on large crosses, especially those on rood screens) and the skull, sometimes with the cross-bones, placed at the foot as a symbol of death. This last is, however, very much more modern an introduction than the others.

Crucifixes of this ample and elaborate type are found as late as the fourteenth century; but, as pictorial art advanced, and the whole scene of the Passion was treated by artists with increasing fullness and frequency, the extraneous details were omitted from the crucifix, which became the simple, yet dignified, expression of the crucified Redeemer as it is to this day.

Crucifixion Scenes.

Almost the same phases noticed in the evolution of the crucifix are evinced also in the early representations of the crucifixion scene. There is the same restraint in depicting the central figure, the same use of conventional forms and of symbols. There are examples in which, while the two malefactors are shown as crucified, our Lord stands in the midst with outspread arms, but with no cross save that in the nimbus above His head. The persons introduced are, as a rule, few in number. Almost always we find the Blessed Virgin and St. John, with the emblematic signs for the sun and moon. Sometimes also the two thieves, and, though less frequently, two female figures, personifying the Jewish and Christian churches. The long robe, instead of the loin-cloth, on the crucified Redeemer, and the hand, symbolizing God the Father, are both common forms in the earliest paintings and carved ivories. The chapel of St. Silvestro at Rome contains a curious example of a crucifixion scene in which soldiers, with a spear and the sponge on a reed, are introduced, while a small angel is seen removing the crown of thorns and substituting a regal one. In this fresco, which dates from 1248, all the three crosses are shown; the two lesser ones are of the usual type, but the Saviour's cross is in the form of a *Y*, the form of cross that appears on the back of a Gothic chasuble.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed the rise of the great Italian schools of art; and with the artists' growing mastery over their materials, crucifixion scenes became fuller of details and less rigidly conventional, though not less devotional, and scarcely less symbolical. For instance, we find a host of angels thronging round the dying Redeemer, wringing their hands in grief, offering to Him their lowliest worship, or catching in chalices His Sacred Blood. Sometimes there is also found at the foot of the cross a crowd of figures representing, not the hostile multitude that surged with blasphemous taunts before the failing eyes of the Saviour, but monks, bishops, virgins, kings,—the saintly and devout of later ages, who stand in rapt attention or kneel in homage.

In those days, "when every art found its highest expression in the service of the Church, every encouragement was given to the painting of sacred subjects; and the artists, for the most

part loyal sons of the Church, sought their highest ambition in realizing their ideal of the crucifixion, a pietà, or the Madonna". It is to such feelings that we owe the splendid frescoes of Giotto (Dante's friend at Assisi) and of Cimabue; and the paintings of Duccio and of Fra Angelico. It is said that Duccio was the first to represent our Lord on the Cross with His feet laid one upon the other. And it was Fra Angelico who, by his wonderful pictures, embodied, if ever man did, his whole faith in his art, with such reverent devotion and tenderest pity. Indeed, the artists of the Italian Renaissance have by their sacred canvasses and frescoes placed the whole Christian world under a debt that never can be paid, for the halo of sacred art still surrounds the very names of Florence and Siena, of Umbria and Venice, of Ferrara, Milan, and Verona.

Gradually, as the fifteenth century advanced, and especially in the age that follows, the symbolical and devotional treatment of the tremendous spectacle of the crucifixion was eclipsed by the realistic and historical method. "No longer the painter approached his subject with that awe which compelled a reserve eloquent of faith in its great mystery; but, too often he sought, in frenzied crowds, impassioned Magdalens, and contorted limbs, to display his own skill only."

For crucifixions that raise the thoughts and heart from the canvas to Calvary itself, we must revert to those ages which, with less anatomical knowledge, and, perhaps, less technical skill, were nevertheless inspired with more perfect ideals, and nobler art, from the mere afflatus of a faith that was simple and sincere.

JOHN R. FRYAR.

St. Edmund's, Canterbury, England.

Analecta.

SECRETARIA STATUS.

PROMULGATIO PONTIFICIARUM CONSTITUTIONUM AC LEGUM.

Completa nuper editione voluminum quae *Acta Pii X* inscribuntur, ad dubitationem quamlibet praecavendam de legitima promulgatione Pontificiarum constitutionum ac legum in iis insertarum; Ssmus Dnus noster Pius divina providentia PP. X, referente me infrascripto Cardinali a Secretis Status, decernere dignatus est: omnes ac singulas Constitutiones ac leges, in quatuor praedictorum *Actorum* voluminibus contentas, plenissime promulgatas atque idcirco ratas firmasque habendas esse, perinde ac si in commentario officiali "*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*" insertae verbo ad verbum fuissent. Contrariis quibusvis, etiam speciali ac individua mentione dignis, minime obstantibus. *Ex audientia Sanctissimi, die 26 decembris 1913.*

PONTIFICAL APPOINTMENTS.

4 December, 1913: The Rev. Henry Althoff, parish priest of Okawville, Ills., made Bishop of the Diocese of Belleville.

11 December: Mr. James Shevlin, of Brooklyn, made Knight of St. Gregory the Great.

16 December: The Rev. Joseph Broadhead, of the Diocese of Hexham, England, made Domestic Prelate of His Holiness.

18 December: Mr. Charles W. Hamilton, of Omaha, Nebraska, made Knight of St. Gregory the Great.

Studies and Conferences.

OUR ANALECTA.

Roman documents for the month are:

PAPAL SECRETARY OF STATE announces that the constitutions and laws contained in the four volumes recently issued of *Acta Pii X* are to be considered as fully promulgated and in force, just as though they had been published in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis.*

PONTIFICAL APPOINTMENTS of recent date as officially announced.

THE "COLOR ROSACEUS" FOR LAETARE SUNDAY.

During the last few years there has been a steady advance, especially in our larger city churches, toward a more exact observance of the rubrics and the carrying out of the solemn services of the Church. One of the notable features has been a closer approach, in the matter of vestments, to the old Roman usage, and many churches have adopted altogether the use of the so-called Gothic (old Roman) chasuble in place of the violin-shaped garments introduced by Gallican enterprise. In harmony with this improvement is the attempt to supplement the regular liturgical colors (white, red, green, violet, and black) by the rose color used on " Gaudete " and on "Laetare " Sunday, suggesting the note of expectant joy. The fact that this color occurs only rarely in the liturgical cycle has made it lawful to use violet in its place, even in cathedrals, which can not, like the mission churches, plead poverty as a reason for not providing rose-colored vestments. Says the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (Lib. II, 13, n. 11): " In tertia Dominica eadem observantur, nisi quoad paramenta altaris et celebrantis adhiberi solent coloris violacei in defectu rosacei ".

The " rosaceus " here indicated for the decoration of the altar and for the vestments at Mass, is not a bright rose color, but one that approaches a light violet. The correct tint is in this case, as in that of the other liturgical colors, produced only by vegetable dyes, and not by the modern process in

which aniline is substituted as a commercially cheaper medium. The quieter tones of the vegetable coloring are similar to those used in the rich medieval tapestries, or the Oriental rugs of to-day. The vivid reds and garish greens and purples which the peasantry of Europe and the plantation folk of our own country affect, are quite the opposite of the delicate yet rich colors in which the liturgy of the Church reads her symbolical lessons to the priest and the faithful. The martyr's blood, nature's soft green garment, the purple of the dawning sky proclaiming the advent of the royal sun, the deeper purple of the penitential mood imaged in the gloam at even, and followed by the sable night symbolizing death with its promise of a new rising, the fleecy white of virginal innocence, and the rose-tint in which innocence and the martyr's bleeding love are suggested by the blending of white and red—these are sermons preached silently during the Holy Sacrifice, and in harmony with the architectural symbolism which points to heaven by the arches of its vaults or the perfection of its circles around their centre in the Tabernacle.

There is a practical difficulty however in the way of the correct observance of these beautiful and suggestive features of Catholic worship. It is the commercialism which prevents those disposed to fulfill the longings of the Catholic heart for glimpses of the external beauty of the King's daughter, "circumdata varietate". In the present instance, a pastor whose church services are characterized by the attractiveness that comes from a reverent appreciation and observance of the Church's ceremonies in all their details, writes to us about his effort to get the proper color for the vestments to be used on "Laetare Sunday":

Dear Father,

My agent tells me that it is impossible to get silk dyed the "color rosaceus" in the city (New York). The dye-works are controlled by a trust; the dyeing is all *aniline*. They are crowded beyond capacity with work.

1. Do you know any place where, if I furnish the raw silk, it could be dyed?

2. Failing that, could we obtain the material from Kevelaer (where vestments are made with a special view to liturgical correctness under the supervision of Mme. Stummel), if we cabled for it?

Could the silk be dyed there and shipped in time to have us make up the complete set for "Laetare"?

Or can you suggest anything better?

J. H. M.

Being anxious to aid the effort to follow perfectly the ceremonial of the Church, and knowing moreover that there are many priests, especially rectors of seminaries and superiors of religious houses, who would second such effort, we applied to a leading firm of French dyers whose head is a Catholic, and who has large establishments in America. We wrote as follows:

The liturgical colors used at Catholic services demand, on account of their symbolical signification, certain tints ordinarily produced by vegetable dyes. Among these colors is a so-called "color rosaceus", a rose tint approaching purple, produced, I believe, from the "orchil weed" (archilla). As this color is required only rarely, the use of violet has been commonly substituted for it. But we should like to get the true color. Several New York firms assure us that no other dye of this kind is made but that produced from aniline (mineral) products. If this be true we should have to send to Germany for the required color.—Can you produce the dye if furnished the raw silk? I am writing in the interest of a number of churches throughout the country.

In reply we received promptly the following note which we publish here for the information of pastors who may be desirous of carrying out the complete ceremonial, and who find themselves in the same difficulty as our correspondent.

We are still using the vegetable dyes for some of the colors that we cannot produce with aniline colors. I think we can produce the color you describe in your letter. If you would kindly mail us a sample with some of the material you wish to have dyed we feel that we can produce the shade you desire. As we still use archilla and also a substitute, either one of these products will give the shade you require.

A. F. BORNOT BROS. CO.
(per J. CARVILLE.)
Seventeenth Street and Fairmount Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

A PRETENDED MARRIAGE.

(*Casus Conscientiae.*)

If space permits, would you kindly discuss the following case in the columns of the REVIEW:

Mary, while keeping company with John, was betrayed by him. She begged him to marry her in order to escape disgrace. Upon his refusal to do so she had him brought before the court, which gave him the choice either of righting the wrong by marrying her, or of serving a sentence in prison. He chose the lesser evil of marrying her, as he intended to obtain a civil divorce later on. Both are Catholics.

Her idea in marrying him was to save her good name before the eyes of the world, make her child legitimate before the law, and compel him to support her and the child till such time as she could provide for herself.

Foreseeing the most probable outcome of a *forced* marriage, she decided to follow a prudent course without binding herself for life. She therefore concluded to marry him before the *judge* as a matter of legal form, without intending to contract matrimony and without the intention of ever cohabiting with him unless the marriage were duly performed before the pastor later on.

1. Was Mary justified in contracting a civil marriage simply to obtain the civil benefits, just as she may ask for the dissolution of the bond civilly for the sake of securing the legal effects of a divorce?

2. May a confessor advise or tolerate in silence such a course of action?

In order to determine whether Mary was justified in contracting a civil marriage, let us first review some of the principles bearing on the case.

In the first place, I suppose the case to have happened after the *Ne temere* came into force; otherwise the attempt to contract marriage before the civil judge, in order to avoid validity of this union in the eyes of the Church, would have been futile. The absence of intention to contract a real marital union would have to be proved, and it is as a rule difficult to prove the defect of the necessary consent or intention.

The first point to be cleared up, in order to give Mary any right to force John to marry her, is whether she was unjustly wronged by John. Seduction supposes consent and therefore guilt on both sides, complicity in the sin. The fact that Mary

and John had kept company does not change the circumstance determining the injustice of the action on the part of John. As the case stands there is no charge of violence.

Supposing John had betrayed Mary by the promise of marriage, can she claim a right to the fulfilment of his promise? This is a promise made under a sinful condition, the *conditio turpis* of moral theologians. The binding force of such a promise is a matter of much dispute among casuists and canonists. Indeed it is difficult to understand how God would sanction an agreement the validity of which is made to depend on consent to sin. Though the object promised in our case (*marriage*) is good, the condition on which this promise of marriage is made dependent is sinful. If it is not lawful to do evil in order that good may come of it, will it be lawful in our case to sin in order that good, viz. the right to the marriage, may be obtained? Promises of this kind would be a great incentive to sin, if advantageous rights could be obtained by complying with forbidden conditions. Moreover, who can take seriously the promise of a man who cares so little for God's law of morality as to demand coöperation in sin as a condition of his promise? Who can believe that such a man will hold himself bound by the promise? On the plea of the promise, therefore, Mary has no strict right to demand marriage. Nor can she allege as reason for her claim the loss of her reputation, since she herself has coöperated in that loss by consenting to the sin.

As for the support of the child that may be born of the unlawful intercourse, it is a well-known principle that both the father and mother are equally bound to provide for the maintenance of the illegitimate child. It is not fair to throw this burden on the public or on charitable institutions. Though there may be sufficient reason in such cases to give the child over to an institution, the expense of maintenance and education must be met by the parents, if they are able to do so; and if one party is not able, the other is bound to meet the obligation.

What may Mary do if the father refuses to support the child? Here we have the only reason why Mary may appeal to the civil courts to force the man to do his duty in regard to his child.

She cannot demand marriage, unless there is a legal engagement between them. How far the law permits the judge to impose on John the alternative of either imprisonment or marriage will depend on the statute laws of each State. Blackstone, speaking of the English law, says:[1] "If a woman will by oath before a justice of peace charge any person as having got her with child, the justice shall cause such person to be apprehended, and commit him till he gives security, either to maintain the child, or appear at the next quarter sessions to dispute and try the fact." Though the acts referred to here, have, as the Commentary adds, been superseded by later statutes, these are adapted to secure substantially the same object, viz., to make the putative father liable for the maintenance and education of his illegitimate offspring by means of court proceedings. *The mother,* however, *is not released from her liability to support the child, if the father cannot be made responsible.* Statutes of a similar character are in force in several of our States. Mary can, therefore, lawfully plead for support of the child by John, if she is certain beyond a reasonable doubt that it is his child; but she cannot demand marriage. I have shown on another occasion that a law which allows a justice to force a marriage in such cases by leaving no other alternative than marriage or prison is a law which does far more harm than good.[2]

Is a sham marriage, such as Mary intended, lawful? As we have seen, she has a right to at least a partial support of the child. If the court should leave no other alternative than marriage or imprisonment, can Mary marry before the judge, so as to avoid validity of the union before the Church, and yet obtain from John what he owes to the child? In itself such a civil marriage has in the eyes of the Church no binding force in conscience; neither is it a simulation of the sacrament, because the essential form is wanting. Therefore such a proceeding may be lawful under the following conditions: first, that the act do not cause scandal to Catholics at large; secondly, that there be no danger of the civil act inducing them to live actually as husband and wife, since in conscience they are not such; thirdly, that John does not suffer actual injustice.

[1] Chase's Blackstone, Chap. VI, Of Parent and Child, p. 173.

[2] Eccl. Review, February, 1913, p. 183.

The first condition would be filled if the entire proceeding is kept secret; the second condition would be difficult of fulfillment if they lived under the same roof; hence they would have to agree to separate and not claim the rights of married people which the civil law gives them; the third condition may be difficult of fulfillment, for if John is married before the court, the civil tribunal might compel him to support both wife and child and, as I have said before, Mary has no claim in conscience to support by John.

What is the priest to do? If Mary seeks his advice before she goes to court he will have to tell her that she has a right only to demand from John the support of the child; and if she cannot get this unless she forces John into a civil marriage, the priest should refuse to assume responsibility in the case and refer the matter to his bishop who is the proper judge in marriage cases so far as they pertain to the public forum. If Mary is unwilling to wait, the priest, without assuming any responsibility, should tell her that if she wishes to be a Catholic in good standing with the Church she has to subject herself to the judgment of the authority of the diocese. He may, however, be able to persuade both to make the best of the plight into which they have put themselves and contract a good and sincere marriage enabling them to be faithful to each other in married life. If the priest is appealed to after the civil marriage, and they are living together, he cannot allow them to receive the sacraments unless they separate. In that case Mary has no other claim than the support of the child from John. A prudent priest and pastor will use his influence and tact to bring about a real marriage.

FR. STANISLAUS, O.F.M.

THE "CEPHAS" DIFFICULTY.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

I do not wish in any way to enter into the controversy which for some months has been waged on "the difficulty about Cephas". The defenders of the identity of Cephas with Peter are well able to take care of themselves. Still, I beg leave to call the attention of Fr. J. F. Sheahan to a few statements of his, in the January number of the REVIEW. I think they are open to criticism.

1. "St. Paul spoke to James, Cephas, and John about St. Peter. Paul was the speaker; Cephas and his friends the ones spoken to; St. Peter was the one spoken of (Gal. 2: 7-9)." From this analysis of the passage the writer concludes that "Paul, Cephas, and Peter are three individuals as distinct as the three persons in Grammar". Unfortunately, Gal. 2: 7-9 does not furnish so easily the sharp distinction implied in the sentence: "Paul spoke *to* Cephas *about* Peter". It would be more in keeping with the text to say: Paul speaks (actually to the Galatians) about Peter (vv. 7, 8) and James, Cephas, and John (vv. 7, 9). Will not this make some difference in Fr. Sheahan's well-defined distinction?

2. "Pope Clement, companion of St. Paul (Phil. 4: 3) . . . calls Peter, Peter (1 Ep. 5), and calls Cephas, Cephas (1 Ep. 47). He does not call Cephas Peter", etc.

The assertion that Pope Clement was the companion of St. Paul mentioned in Phil. 4: 3, would gain in accuracy, were it, however so slightly, toned down. I know Fr. Sheahan has on his side here Tertullian, Eusebius, St. Jerome, and St. Epiphanius; still the identity of the two Clements is not altogether certain. But this is a side-issue.

True, Pope Clement, in I Ep. 5, calls Peter, Peter, and in I Ep. 47, he calls Cephas, Cephas. Still, if we read over the text of the passage, we will find something worth noting: *Ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλῶ διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἡ πρόσκλισις ἐκείνη ἧττονα ἁμαρτίαν ὑμῖν ἐπήνεγκεν. προσεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρομένοις καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ' αὐτοις.* That is, in terse English: "Paul wrote to you about himself and Cephas and Apollo, because at that time you were already split into factions. But your division then was not so grievously sinful (as your present wranglings): you were taking sides with authentic Apostles and with a man approved of them". The allusion is undoubtedly to I Cor. 1: 12. When St. Clement says: "You were taking sides with a man approved of Apostles", he certainly refers to Apollo. To whom does he refer when he speaks of the Corinthians taking sides with Apostles, in the plural number? Unquestionably to St. Paul and to Cephas. The text is most clear, and we cannot dodge the conclusion that *for St. Clement Cephas was an Apostle.*

Whether or not St. Clement confounds Cephas and Peter, I leave now to Fr. Sheahan to decide; that St. Clement "adds no information to that found in the Scriptures", I am most willing to believe with Fr. Sheahan, though in another sense; I think indeed the Scriptures intimate with sufficient clearness what St. Clement affirms in the above cited passage, namely that Cephas was an Apostle.

3. "Cephas was the very opposite of SS. Peter and Paul. They preached to the Gentiles; he would not preach to any but Jews". This is more easily said than proved. What do we know about the field of activity of Cephas—in case he is not the same as Peter? Again, to say without qualification that Peter "preached to the Gentiles", is certainly to minimize unduly St. Paul's opposition between his own special mission to the Gentiles and St. Peter's to the Jews (Gal. 2:8).

4. I beg to take exception also to including Cephas among the "false brethren" mentioned in Gal. 2:4: nothing in the text or the context justifies this view. As to whether "them who seemed to be something" (Gal. 2:6), and "who seemed to be pillars" (Gal. 2:9), are "bitter and satirical" expressions, Fr. Sheahan will, I am sure, pardon me to doubt.

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C.M.

St. Louis, Mo.

A FREE LENDING LIBRARY.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

A gift of *Lives of the Saints,* by the Rev. Alban Butler (P. J. Kenedy, New York, 1903), in four large handsome volumes has reached our library from an unknown donor. Gratitude prompts me to tell your readers what "our library" is. A born lover of books, a descendant of generations who had been at home in the old Library on Fifth Street in the Quaker City, I was stranded in a fashionable watering place in France nine years ago, with but my own small supply of reading matter. I soon found that all my English and American neighbors were fond of borrowing from my shelves, and, chancing one day to visit the local banker, found that he had some English books which he was glad to lend to exiles. Within a few days, with his approval, I started in his office what we called the "Rainy Day Fund", with the motto "No fees, no fines, no formalities". Soon this developed into a free lending library.

The hotels gladly sent all magazines left by English-speaking visitors; and, without expense to the banker, save for the printing of a few labels, the fund prospered.

Removing to England in 1908, I tried the same experiment in a church porch, but in a sad region where the Church slumbers, and then, just two years ago, started with about 40 books in the church porch here. Our label reads:

CATHOLIC CHURCH, BEXHILL.

FREE LENDING LIBRARY.

No Fees—No Fines—No Formalities.

Suggestions to Readers—

1. Return all reading matter as promptly as possible.
2. Avoid soiling, marking, or mutilating the property of the Library.

Note.—The Library is in every way *free* and *informal.* Members of the Congregation, residents, or casual visitors, regardless of creed, are at perfect liberty to borrow the books without charge, the only obligation incurred being to return the same for the use of others, uninjured, as soon as possible, either personally or by post, to the Library. No permission to borrow the books is necessary: simply help yourself.

Address any communication to THE LIBRARIAN,
Catholic Presbytery, Bexhill.

At first people were shy; but our church occupies the most prominent place in the town, itself a fashionable seaside resort within seventy miles of London; and as its doors are never closed, from 7 A. M. until dusk, people are always entering. A modest box (which has twice been robbed) is provided for contributions of cash, and a shelf for gifts of books. To-day we have no debt. We have over 400 bound volumes, and as nearly as we can tell about 45 books are exchanged weekly. The contribution box has provided enough to pay for the shelving, and to buy new books from time to time.

During the first summer a Protestant lady visitor chanced upon the Library, and after having used it for some time presented to it a complete set of Monsignor Benson's books. We have received presents of many of John Ayscough's works. To-day 250 books are in

circulation. We have lost about 20 books; and yet these may be doing good. Every book is well stamped upon the edge of the pages "Catholic Church, Bexhill". The lower inch of the back of the book is painted with yellow enamel, and above this is a quarter-inch strip of white enamel (the papal colors), put there so that, should a volume stray onto the shelves of a borrower, it will be detected at once. I enclose a marker we place in each volume; and, as it is a reminder as well, we have found it productive of good result. Many of the imitators of our library have failed by asking for fees and in asking for the names of borrowers. People, strangers, and Protestants are shy and suspicious.

Can any one ask what is the good of it all? I have had many letters on the subject. Let me quote two: December, 1912—"I am returning by post to the Library *The Price of Unity*. You may be interested to know that I am to be received into the Church on Christmas eve." Another, September, 1913—"Thanking you, I am returning *Faith of our Fathers,* borrowed from the library some time ago. I have been much enlightened, nay much blessed during the reading of it.—An Anglican seeking the Truth."

Our rector claims many converts due to the open library. Books are returned to us from all parts of England, from Scotland, and from Wales. We have many books of devotion, controversy, and fiction; biography and history are always popular. Of *Come Rack, Come Rope* by Mgr. Benson we have eight copies; of *The Unbelievers,* by a non-Catholic, a story of Lourdes, we possess ten copies, and yet we seldom have one on the shelves over-night. Our latest development is our Reference Library, and to it we will consign the volumes referred to at the beginning of this article. A shelf twelve inches wide is placed in a good light; before this we have screwed securely through the back: *Catholic Directory, Catholic Who's Who, Catholic Dictionary, Hints for Catholic Nurses, Vocations for Men, Vocations for Women,* and now *Lives of the Saints.*

THE LIBRARIAN.

Bexhill, England, 13 January, 1914.

The above letter contains a particularly instructive argument for the spread of good books among persons whom our preaching and catechizing may never reach. Even if the number of books not returned were disproportionately large, the thought that a good book does not thereby cease to do its mission, is a sufficient compensation for its absence from the church porch. We have indeed in many churches the Truth Society stands where useful pamphlets are offered in return

for a moderate fee, but as it is usually understood that these publications are intended for special propaganda, their attraction is lost to many who would, if free to do so, select a good novel or historical biography, and perhaps thus learn to cultivate a habit leading to the reading of more serious literature.

THE ALTAR WINE QUESTION.

(*Communicated.*)

The importance of pure wine for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass prompts me to publish the following remarks.

The altar wine question has at all times been a very perplexing problem. Every priest, of course, is anxious to secure absolutely pure wine for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. However, some of the Reverend Fathers may have occasionally been too confident in a matter of such great importance.

To aid my confrères in this matter, I began three years ago to study the altar wine question and probe into the reliability of the many dealers in the country. My discoveries were shocking.

I found that many priests were buying Mass wine from Jewish and non-Catholic producers and dealers, who naturally cannot be expected to realize why an absolutely pure wine is required for the Holy Sacrifice. That high esteem for the Holy Sacrifice which will deter a *good* Catholic from selling any other wine but the pure grape juice to the Clergy is no motive for the non-Catholic producer or dealer. Priests buying from them must rely upon their natural honesty,—indeed a dubious proceeding in a matter of such tremendous importance.

Some of these non-Catholic dealers have obtained recommendations from clergymen. Some priests have certainly been too quick in giving their recommendation. One non-Catholic firm in Milwaukee, for instance, has many such recommendations. Among them I find printed in large letters a recommendation (?) from the Bishop of St. Joseph, Mo. To a letter of inquiry regarding it his Lordship answered:

> Reverend dear Father: I beg to inform you that I never gave the company in question a personal recommendation of its Altar Wine. I never assume that responsibility. My letter to the firm was not intended as a recommendation to the public of said wines. They sent me a case of wine gratis and I merely sent a reply to it.

This same non-Catholic firm is using in a very skillful way, to pretend "Catholicity," a recommendation which the pastor of St.

Boniface's Church of Milwaukee gave to one of his parishoners for his personal use.

I discovered that a certain agent, living in Chicago, sold Mass wines to Catholic dealers, as "Christian Brothers' wines", although they were made and shipped by another wine firm. To a letter addressed to the Christian Brothers at Martinez, Cal., I received the following reply, Jan. 29, 1910.

> Reverend dear Father: Your letter at hand. I beg to say that we have no agent or firm at present handling our Mass wines. Our experience with agents was a sad one, and we now sell only direct to the Clergy.

While visiting Father D. C. Crowley in California a few weeks ago, I learned that parties only lately asked the Archbishop of San Francisco for a recommendation for a certain wine producer in California, from whom many of our Catholic Mass wine dealers obtain their wines, but His Grace refused it on the ground that he did not know what kind of wines they were making and selling.

I also found that the firm from which the Rev. P. Blake bought the altar wines which he sold to the Clergy is no longer a Catholic concern.

During my stay at San Francisco, a few weeks ago, Father Crowley and myself visited the Jesuits at Santa Clara in order to warn them against agents who would buy a carload of their wines, then advertise that they had taken the agency for the Jesuit wines, but never again buy from them. To my great surprise I learned from the Jesuit Fathers on this occasion that a very prominent Catholic altar wine dealer in Illinois some four years ago bought a carload of altar wine from the Jesuits at Los Gatos, Cal., but never bought wine again from them, although I know he sells carloads of altar wine each year. This gentleman is advertising himself as agent for the Jesuit wines.

What about the Pure Food Law? Does it afford an adequate protection against adulteration of wines? No. As proof of this, I quote the following dispatch from Washington to the *Chronicle* of San Francisco, dated Sept. 1, 1913: "Ohio wine growers in deep trouble with the Government Pure Food Boards. Agents of the Board have just reported the seizure of products of the Sweet Valley Wine Co. and of A. Schmidt, Jr. & Bros. Wine Co., both firms located at Sandusky, for violations of the Pure Food Law. The Pure Food Agents seized barrels and cases of 'wine' made by the Sweet Valley Wine Co. at Detroit, Mich., St. Louis, and Hannibal, Mo., Chicago, and Montgomery, Ala. The Schmidt Concern's alleged wines were seized at Pittsburg and St. Louis." Adulterations and misbranding were charged in all these cases against both firms.

A. Texter & Co., of Sandusky, Ohio, shipped a barrel, labeled "Muscatel Wine", into Michigan where it was seized on Aug. 15th. Adulteration and misbranding were charged because it was alleged that the wine was artificially sweetened, in imitation of the fine Muscatel type. The cases against the three Ohio wine shippers are now pending in the courts, where they will be prosecuted by the United States Government.

Seeing that the bishops and priests all over the country were turning to California for their Mass wines, and knowing that the few reliable sources for pure Altar Wines in California, such as the Jesuit and Christian Brothers, were absolutely inadequate to meet the demand, Archbishop P. W. Riordan, of San Francisco, some years back, ordered Father D. O. Crowley, Superior of St. Joseph's Agricultural Institute of Rutherford, Cal., to make arrangements with the Beaulieu Vineyard of the same place for the production of absolutely pure Altar Wines.

In conclusion I take the liberty of giving the following advice. When buying Altar Wine:

1. Never buy Mass Wine from a *producer* who is not a well-known conscientious Catholic.

2. Never buy Mass Wine from a *dealer* who is not a thorough Catholic.

3. Find out for yourself where your dealer gets his Altar Wines, and if he buys them from a good, reliable Catholic producer, also find out whether he buys all his Mass wines from that producer. Do not rely too much on recommendations.

L. PESCHONG.

Procurator of St. Francis Seminary.

We print Father Peschong's communication, as it will no doubt aid many priests in settling for themselves the question of how to procure reliable altar wines. Those who read the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW know that the matter has been thoroughly discussed by us, time and again, from every possible standpoint, and that we have taken practical steps to guarantee the reliability of the houses whose altar wines are advertized on the second page of the cover of the REVIEW.

Some priests object to the acid taste of our so-called "dry" wines (which are by all odds the safest wines in point of purity among American products). The objection seems to savor of oversensitiveness in a matter where taste is of secondary importance. All the northern wines have a certain tartness. We

do not object to fruit and other foods containing acids, which as a rule rather aid digestion than hinder it; and the quantity of wine used at Mass is so small that only in exceptional cases can its lack of sweetness be deemed a serious consideration.

EDITOR.

OUR DEBT TO THE LATE CANON SHEEHAN.

Since we stated the fact that a German priest who had found much enjoyment in Canon Sheehan's books had sent us a contribution toward the proposed memorial of the distinguished priest author, we have received, among various expressions of sympathy toward the project, a check for twenty-five dollars from an American priest who honors his Irish birth by loyalty alike to faith and race. There are many others among our readers, we feel sure, who recall with pleasure the first instalments of *My New Curate* in the spring of 1898. The genial figure of "Daddy Dan" and that of his zealous young curate, "Father Letheby", were recognized by everybody as characterizations true to present-day life, and reflecting, all in all, most creditably upon the Catholic priesthood, not only of Ireland but also of every other nation. And as of old the Irish priests set out from their monasteries by Lough Erne and on the coast of Down, to carry the spirit of their new-won faith to the nations of Europe, so did the message of this Irish country priest from the diocese of Cloyne reach the clerical reader of Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Spain, Hungary, and Ruthenia, and proclaim its excellence and worth almost before the English readers at home were aware that there had arisen a new prophet in their midst.

Dr. William Barry, who as a literary artist wields a burin of as fine a point as any of our Catholic writers to-day, gives generous credit to the worth of his dead friend as a writer. He holds *The Triumph of Failure* to be the best written of Canon Sheehan's books. We believe the judgment is true, and it had the deceased author's own endorsement. But the English critic, who believes that it is quite impossible to explain the popularity of *My New Curate* on grounds of literary criticism, is sadly at sea in his notion of what makes true excellence in letters. Because *The Triumph of Failure* abounds in rich fan-

tasy enhanced by a graphic style that makes the imagery seem real, and because the writer's observations on men and things bespeak a power of analysis and spiritual penetration that would sorely try our sensitiveness were it not softened by an evident sympathy for all that is true and good, *The Triumph of Failure* holds a high place beside the best that has been done in popular Catholic literature of our age. But *My New Curate* stands first and alone as a work that sounds the inner motives of the priestly and pastoral life. Its method is richly instructive without being didactic, and it attracts by the charm of its simple exposition without any suggestion of the commonplace; withal, it is not lacking in that subtle originality which makes old things surprisingly new. Again, as a work which flatters our native self-love to just the point that is needed to awaken the thoughtful reader to the suggestion that he might make more of his opportunities for self-improvement, thus delicately touching the hidden sore of our pride without destroying our self-esteem; or as a work that brings into bold relief, and with the noonday light of priestly charity upon it, the half-hidden foibles of the wayward poor and the lowly amongst us, with their childlike, half-superstitious trust (which, though we are apt to forget it, constitutes the most valuable asset of our priestly and pastoral control), *My New Curate* has no equal in English literature. It was these characteristics that appealed above all else to the fresh and open minds of Canon Sheehan's great host of readers, especially in America, where one is not so liable to form opinions after traditional patterns. It was this originality which made the story so popular that three editions of it were exhausted in one month (December, 1899), and which called for the tenth edition before another twelvemonth had elapsed.

Luke Delmege, which followed *My New Curate,* is, we think, an improvement on it from a purely literary standpoint. But whilst it excels in the mastery of spiritual analysis, it lacks the author's peculiarly attractive note of Irish humor; for he had chosen in the later composition less flexible material for his discussion. The foreigner who becomes acquainted with Canon Sheehan's work through a translation only, will apply a somewhat different standard of literary criticism from that of the English reader. The former cannot be conscious of the

racy Irish humor, which reveals itself not only in the local idiom but in the rich brogue that forms part of the national genius, and which the English reader knows from his intercourse with his ubiquitous Celtic brother. But there are other characteristics in the portraits painted by Father Sheehan's master hand which the foreigner recognizes as possessing the virtue of fine art. These elements appeal to the Catholic priest as do the splendid sketches of medieval monks in their hours of recreation when portrayed by some of the good old masters who were not cynics, but admirers, of religion. Father Sheehan's pictures of the Soggarth Aroon make us realize the inner life and motives of the Catholic pastor in a novel fashion. He portrays the priest not as an ascete in soutane and buckled shoe such as we see him come forth from the portals of St. Sulpice, but as the genial Father Dan, with his admiring and enthusiastic young assistant, who is fond of sport and is well-tailored, but who is ready to take his place by the poor and sacrifice his last farthing or spend his health and life when there is question of helping the unfortunate and of saving their souls. And this picture has not only served to please the priests who delight in seeing themselves discussed, but it has also solved in a wholesome way the riddles of many a non-Catholic who cannot understand "these Irish priests" with their ruddy complexion and their everlasting good humor on the one hand, and their severe observances in Lent and their abstinence on Fridays, their prayers in railway cars and in odd corners, evidently not for mere show, on the other hand. These strangers find it difficult to reconcile the priests' brusque speech to the people in church, with their almost motherly solicitude by the bed of the sick, and their love of the little children; or their eagerness for getting money with their readiness to throw it away in answer to any need from the poor, even though he be a tramp or some book agent in disguise. In short, the story has opened the eyes of many who could not understand the cheerful way in which the Catholic priest manages the "Way of the Cross" which all who would enter heaven are bound to follow. Thus Father Sheehan has lifted a cloud of prejudice in many quarters where *My New Curate* has been and is being read for its inviting humor and its alluring description of the home life of a

Catholic pastor. There are countless others who have found the lofty principles, offered amidst smiles and laughter throughout the story, a guide in practical life.

Now the people of Doneraile want to honor Father Sheehan who was their pastor. The outside world knows the writer who gained international celebrity for his obscure Irish village. Many an American traveler has gone out of his way to see the parish house of the dead priest in the hilly district whither no railroad would take him, but whither he had to go by tedious ride on a jaunting car from Mallow Junction. Some of the people of Doneraile are thinking of erecting a monument to commemorate their pastor's love for the aged and infirm, though many would like to see simply his statue in the marketplace to remind them of what he did for them. For he was public-spirited as well as gifted. It was he who inspired his townsmen with zeal for the promotion of sanitary, industrial, and social improvements. He too was the first to urge his people to purchase their farms under the Wyndham land act, until all had their own homes. These things are not yet fully told as they will be some day, we hope. A movement for a memorial is on foot also in the town of Mallow, where Canon Sheehan was born. No doubt Dublin and Maynooth will at a later date feel the need of remembering Canon Sheehan by erecting a memorial to him as one of the greatest ornaments of a new-born nation.

If there has been no explicit expression on the part of the diocesan authorities on behalf of a memorial, that does not imply that they are not favorable to it. Canon Sheehan gave over even during his lifetime all the income from his literary labors in trust to the Bishop of Cloyne for diocesan charities. There can be no doubt therefore that the movement enjoys the approval of the clergy, whether the monument be erected at Doneraile or at Mallow or elsewhere.

If we have delayed somewhat in answering the request to open a subscription list in the REVIEW, it is because we feared that there might be some question as to the willingness of readers to coöperate in such matters. But the offerings spontaneously made before we could ask for them, suggest that there are others who would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to contribute toward the success of the " Canon Sheehan

Memorial Fund". And we hereby express our willingness to receive subscriptions for the purpose. All contributions will be credited regularly by us and transmitted to the proper authorities.

BAPTISM OF VAGRANT CHILDREN.

Qu. I shall be obliged to you for an answer to the following query, through the columns of the REVIEW.

Quite recently a discussion arose among some of our clergy as to the advisability of baptizing children of vagrants. As a rule the parents themselves are baptized Catholics, but they have never been instructed in the faith, and consequently are not practising Catholics. The probability is that the children will be what their parents are. Ought we to refuse baptism in these cases, or defer it until the parents receive some instruction, or be content with the simple promise that the child will be brought up a Catholic, and baptize the child?

We are all agreed that the sponsor must be a practical Catholic; but doubt whether it is fair to put responsibility for these children on the housekeeper of the priest since the vagrants rarely bring a sponsor with them. The XI Decree of the Council of Fort Augustus, No. 5, says that the priest ought to baptize the children of non-Catholic parents brought to him, provided the sponsor be a Catholic and "fundata spes adsit de prole in vera religione educanda". The discussion turns on the meaning to be attached to the last quotation.

My neighbor refuses to allow his housekeeper to act as sponsor, and will not baptize a child of the vagrant class unless brought to him by a practical Catholic who will act as sponsor and take the full responsibility in default of the parents. His experience of over 30 years' mission work makes him exercise great caution in the matter, knowing that almost for certain the child will not be educated in the Faith.

My practice is to baptize all who are brought to me, and I content myself with the promise given me by the parents that the child will be brought up a Catholic. In this I am following the practice adopted by Father De Smet (ECCL. REVIEW, Vol. XXX, 1907, p. 478).

Resp. Baptism is a solemn act by which the child is enrolled in the militia of Christ and admitted to its privileges on condition of a pledge of fidelity to the teaching and precepts

of the Church. Since the child is still incapable of realizing and assuming the personal responsibility of this pledge, its fulfilment should be secured by some faithful sponsor. The ordinances of the Church facilitate and regulate the fulfilment of this pledge, as far as possible, by the law of proper sponsorship.

But Baptism is also a gift and a grace, and a necessary means of salvation, quite apart from the rule of life which the child may be led to embrace later on. This grace retains its sacramental value even where there is no sponsorship whatever. Hence the same authority of the Church which introduced the safeguard of Catholic sponsors at solemn Baptism, ordains that where it is impossible to obtain proper sponsors the child is to be baptized without them. As late as 3 May, 1893, the Holy Office, in answer to the question, "Utrum ad munus patrini admitti possit haereticus si ex ejus rejectione gravia damna imminere videantur, an vero praestet in hujusmodi casibus difficilibus baptismum sine patrino administrare?" replied: "*Praestare ut baptismus conferatur sine patrino,* si aliter fieri non possit." This is in conformity with the principles of Catholic doctrine regarding the efficacy of the Sacraments, and the teaching of the Fathers, or, as St. Cyprian in his Synodal Letter to Fidus expresses it: "Universi judicavimus, *nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegandam.*" If children are not to be baptized against the will of their parents, it is only because there is a limit to the exercise of good when it meets the opposition of free will and the rights of parental authority. Hence the clause "si fundata spes adsit de prole in vera religione educanda" as found in the diocesan statutes must be interpreted as indicating cases in which the priest should baptize, but not as excluding cases in which he *may baptize.* The administration of baptism is justifiable, if not advisable, whenever the parents wish it, or even when they do not object to it, since in such cases there is a probability that the child will be made conscious at some time or other of its Catholic baptism with its obligations. This itself is a grace fruitful of conversion or of repentance, and for later life, under God's mercy, offers a thousand chances, independent of the faith of parents and sponsors.

COMMUNION WITH THE LARGE HOST.

Qu. Is it permissible to give parts of the large Host, taken from the monstrance, by way of Communion to the faithful?

Resp. Ordinarily the rubrics prescribe the use of the small particle in giving Holy Communion to the faithful. But there is no reason why in exceptional cases of urgency or necessity the large Host may not be broken up to communicate the faithful.

MUST THE MASS OF THE PRIVILEGED ALTAR BE A REQUIEM MASS?

Qu. A discussion has been going on here as to the obligation of saying a Requiem Mass or making the commemoration for the Dead at the ferial or festive Mass, when the "privilegium altaris" is desired. Some say it is no longer a rule, since the introduction of the new Office. I take the contrary out of these rubrics, unless there has been some subsequent change.

Resp. By Decree of 20 February, 1913, the S. Congregation removed the obligation in the following terms: "Ad altaris privilegiati quod vocant Indulgentiam lucrandam, non amplius in posterum sub poena nullitatis requiri, missam de Requie aut de feria vel vigilia cum oratione defuncti propria celebrari; id tamen laudabiliter fieri, cum licet ac decet, pietatis gratia erga defunctum." See ECCL. REVIEW, May, 1913, p. 620; or YEAR BOOK for 1914, p. 248.

MANNER OF MAKING THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS.

Qu. Quando nullum adest impedimentum ad lucrandas indulgentias Viae Crucis, requiriturne essentialiter visitatio stationum, conferendo se ex una ad aliam stationem, an sufficit se movere aliquantulum in aliquo loco?

C. BATTAGLIA.

Resp. "Necesse est ut in privato exercitio transeatur ab una statione ad aliam: in publico, ut saltem sacerdos cum ministris sic circumeat."[1] De methodo ex speciali privilegio in certis

[1] Cf. *Decreta authentica S. C. Indulg.*, n. 287; 26 Feb., 1841; et n. 210; 6 Aug., 1757.

provinciis introducta et concessa ut legitima, secundum quam et in publico et in privato exercitio fidelibus liceat in suo loco consistere, facto tantum aliquo motu corporali, S. Congregatio expresso declaravit: " ne trahatur in exemplum ".[2]

THE SOLEMNITY OF ST. JOSEPH IN THE NEW OFFICE.

Our Year Book for 1914 states (page 254) that " the Solemnity of St. Joseph, Patron of the Universal Church, is to be assigned to the Wednesday preceding the third Sunday after Easter; and that day, along with its Octave, shall be observed as a double of the second class," etc. There is a slight omission here that makes the text misleading. The passage should read: " The Solemnity of St. Joseph, Spouse of the B. V. Mary, Confessor and Patron of the Universal Church, is to be assigned to the Wednesday before the third Sunday after Easter; and it should be observed on that day with its complete Octave following. The other Feast of St. Joseph, falling 19 March, is reduced to the rank of a double of the second class."

EXPOSITION MASS OF THE FORTY HOURS ON SUNDAY.

Qu. If the Forty Hours' Devotion begins on a Sunday " de ea " —for example, on one of the Sundays after the Epiphany, must the Mass of the Sunday be said, or the votive Mass " De SS. Eucharistiae Sacramento ", with a commemoration of the Sunday? In other words, do the new rubrics affect in any way the former rules regarding the Mass of Exposition at the opening of the Forty Hours' Devotion?

Resp. For the current year it is still permissible to say the votive Mass " De SSo Sacramento " on Sundays of lesser rite than a double of the first and second class. But the rubrics for the coming year are not quite clear. As interpreted by some rubricists, Masses of this kind are excluded on Sundays, and the Missa de Dominica becomes obligatory, with the commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament *sub eadem conclusione.* The matter will have to be referred to the S. Congregation.

[2] *Resc. authent.*, n. 407; 10 March, 1868.

THE PROPER FORM FOR THE BLESSING OF ST. BLASE.

Qu. The formula for the blessing of throats on the feast of St. Blase as found in the Roman Ritual is the following: "Per intercessionem Sancti Blasii, Episcopi et Martyris, liberet te Deus a malo gutturis et a quolibet alio malo. In nomine Patris," etc. Now in the "Ordo" of one of the Congregations of the Benedictines of this country I find the following: "Per intercessionem B. Blasii liberet te Deus a malo gutturis. Amen." Whence the latter? and may any priest use this abbreviated formula?

INQUIRER.

Resp. In a Decree of 20 March, 1869, the S. Congregation of Rites (N. 3196 Vercell.) answers the question whether the formula for blessing the throat on the feast of St. Blase (3 February) should be "Per intercessionem B. M. V. et B. Blasii martyris liberet te Deus a malo gutturis—Amen", or rather "Per intercessionem B. Blasii liberet te Deus a malo gutturis—Amen" as follows: "In casu de quo agitur . . . dicendum ab ipso (sacerdote) tantum erit: 'Per intercessionem B. Blasii liberet te Deus a malo gutturis. Amen.'" From this most authors infer that either the form given in the Ritual or the shorter form may be used, indiscriminately.

A SUGGESTION ANENT THE EPIPHANY.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

It has occurred to the writer that if, as in the case of the feasts of Corpus Christi and SS. Peter and Paul, the solemnity of the Epiphany, *pro populo*, were to be transferred to the following Sunday, "the little Christmas of the Gentiles" would be rescued from the danger of oblivion among the people, which, in this country at least, seems to threaten it since its abrogation as a holiday of obligation. Should the suggestion meet with the approval of the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, no doubt your advocacy of the project would prove a powerful factor in bringing it to a successful issue.

M. J. D.

Ecclesiastical Library Table.

ST. PAUL AND THE PAROUSIA.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

I propose in the following pages to offer some remarks in defence of a view taken up in my edition of the Epistles to the Thessalonians in the Westminster Version, in answer to a note upon the same subject by Fr. Drum, S.J., in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW for December, 1913. I should in justice explain that Fr. Drum himself wrote in self-defence, as I had thought it necessary to explain why I felt unable to accept the view expressed by him in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.[1]

In a previous review in *America* (11 October, 1913), which, so far as the part dealing with the matter before us is concerned, was in substance embodied in the later note in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, Fr. Drum had written, in words taken in part from his article in the *Encyclopedia*:

> In this matter of St. Paul's eschatology, we regret to see that Fr. Lattey seems to hold that St. Paul erred in what he wrote (Cf. Note 17, p. 8, and p. 18). Catholics insist that St. Paul cannot have said the Parousia would be during his lifetime. Had he said so, he would have erred; the inspired word of God would have erred; the error would be that of the Holy Spirit more than of St. Paul.

The reader, I think, might not unreasonably have concluded that in this matter I was in a minority of one in the Church, in taking a view inconsistent with the obvious requirements of inspiration. In the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, however, Fr. Drum has himself provided a rather formidable, if incomplete, list of Catholic exegetes who take the same view. This time the reader will perhaps surmise that the view proposed cannot be so plainly opposed to the first principles of exegesis, and even that it has no claim to originality. It was not my purpose to propound any startling novelty—in any case the Westminster Version would be no place for that—but merely to follow what appeared to me the best exegesis current in the Church, in admitting St. Paul's "evident expectation that he

[1] Vol. XIV, art. Thessalonians, Epistles to the.

himself would see the final end",[2] while at the same time carefully pointing out how this could be reconciled with Catholic doctrine. On p. 18 I wrote as follows: "It will be observed that in his first epistle to the Thessalonians St. Paul implicitly ranges himself and them among those who will be alive at the Last Day. It is commonly admitted that at this time he expected that it would come soon. Would the Apostle speak in this way, asks Père Prat, if he clearly realized that thousands of years separated him from the end? Nevertheless, this was clearly no fixed conviction in St. Paul's mind, much less a point of revelation. The event showed this. After his first letter, and partly, perhaps, because of it, the Thessalonians were moved to anticipations even keener than before of the final consummation; and these anticipations were having an undesirable effect upon their conduct. Therefore, the Apostle writes again, the burden of his letter being, as we have pointed out in the Introduction, that the end is not yet, and that their conduct should in no way be influenced by instant expectation of it."

In spite of the kind words bestowed upon this appendix in the review in *America,* I fear Fr. Drum has failed to realize that it contained the answer to his difficulty. We are both agreed that St. Paul did not know, and did not pretend to know, when the end was to be, and, indeed, this follows from the Gospels (e. g. Mark 13: 32). On the other hand, when Fr. Drum writes that in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* he essayed "to find out what St. Paul really meant to say, no matter what erroneous ideas he had in the back of his head,[3] I think I may presume that he is not prepared to deny that we can see that there *was* an erroneous idea in the back of St. Paul's head, which is all that I am contending for. Does St. Paul commit himself to a definite statement that he will live to see the last day? Certainly not; nor is this an accident, since, as I have written, "this was clearly no fixed conviction in St. Paul's mind, much less a point of revelation". But there are some passages, such as I Thess. 4: 15-17 and I Cor. 15: 51-52, of both of which I shall speak hereafter, which make his own

[2] Thessalonians, p. 8, note 17.

[3] ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, p. 730; cf. p. 729.

expectation clear. Is then St. Paul in error? In my note on Fr. Drum's explanation I wrote, "A solution must be sought on other lines, but still by examining what St. Paul really means, both in this and the other relevant passages." And such an examination, as I had thought I had made tolerably clear, leads to an obvious distinction: St. Paul is in error where he is writing with certainty and conviction, no: where he makes it clear there is "no fixed conviction" in his mind—possibly, and in this case yes. It may be urged that he is repeating a "word of the Lord" (I Thess. 4: 15); but this, which is doubtless to be identified with the μυστήριον of I Cor. 15: 51, is also to be explained "by examining what St. Paul really means, both in this and the other relevant passages", and even in I Thess. 5: 1-2 [4] he is already emphasizing his own and the Thessalonians' ignorance. The point of revelation is that those who are alive at the last day will not die at all, not that St. Paul or the Thessalonians were to be among them.

It should be observed that, from the standpoint of inspiration, there is no difficulty in a sacred writer showing doubt or ignorance upon some point. Fr. Christian Pesch in his monumental work on inspiration writes as follows:

> If the sacred writer speaks vaguely or doubtfully, God, to be sure, is not in doubt or ignorance, but He witnesses to the doubt or possible ignorance of the sacred writer. It is certain that Paul did not know whether he had baptized anyone besides Crispus, Gaius, and the household of Stephanas (1 Cor. 1: 14 ff.). Luke perhaps did not know accurately whether Festus had been eight or ten days at Jerusalem (Acts 25: 6).[5]

And again, applying this doctrine to the matter in hand, he writes:

> If the Apostles, as some maintain, thought that Christ's second coming was near at hand, and if some of their expressions seem to imply this opinion, this does not touch inspiration, because they affirm nothing on this subject save that the time of the second coming has not been revealed by God and is therefore hidden. They

[4] Cf. II Thess. 2: 1-12; II Cor. 5: 1-9, etc.

[5] Pesch, *De Inspiratione*, p. 453, § 445.

could make guesses on this subject, nay, they might even have said in virtue of inspiration that they had such opinions, if it had been useful to declare this; but they did not and could not say that these opinions of theirs were true and were to be admitted by all. In a word, in virtue of inspiration nothing is proposed to be believed as true, except what God wishes to affirm as true through the words of the sacred writer.[6]

I think the impartial reader will admit that these words cover the interpretation I have put forward; I should be the first to say that St. Paul did not and could not say that this opinion of his was true and was to be admitted by all. But it is surely excess of zeal to attribute infallibility even to a sacred writer in a matter about which he is at pains to proclaim his ignorance!

One more point, and I have done with the theological aspect of the matter. Fr. Drum takes the Greek text of I Thess. 4: 17 conditionally; but even he would scarcely say that the Vulgate admits of this interpretation. In the *Encyclopedia,* immediately after the words "Catholics insist", etc., quoted early in this article, he continues:

True, the Douay Version seems to imply that the Parousia is at hand: "Then we who are alive, who are left, shall be taken up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ, into the air, and so shall we always be with the Lord" (1 Thess. 4: 16). The Vulgate is no clearer: "Nos, qui vivimus, qui residui sumus," etc. (4: 15-17). The original text solves the difficulty.

Now it is the common opinion of theologians, from which I feel sure that Fr. Drum will not wish to depart, that the Vulgate is free from error in what touches faith or morals: yet all his objections to my interpretation apply just as much to the Vulgate, and his own way of escape is cut off. There is

[6] This passage appears of sufficient importance to be reproduced in the original Latin: "Ergo si apostoli, et quibusdam placet, putaverunt secundum Christi adventum proxime instare, et si quaedam eorum loquendi formulae hanc opinionem innuere videntur, hoc non pertinet ad inspirationem, quia de hac re nihil affirmant nisi tempus secundi adventus non esse a Deo revelatum ideoque occultum. Potuerunt de hac re coniecturas facere, immo potuissent etiam ex inspiratione dicere se habere tales opiniones, si utile fuisset hoc manifestare; sed neque dixerunt neque potuerunt dicere has suas opiniones esse veras et omnibus admittendas. Uno verbo: Vi inspirationis nihil ut verum credendum proponitur, nisi quod Deus verbis hagiographi ut verum affirmare vult." (Pesch, *De Inspiratione,* p. 459, § 450, note.)

the preliminary *dicimus in verbo Domini* and the *nos,* but to take *qui vivimus* as conditional would be a proceeding even more questionable than to take οἱ ζῶντες in that way.

Having thus, as I hope, cleared away any *praeiudicium theologicum,* I may come to consider the question of grammar and translation upon its own merits. First of all let us consider ἡμεῖς —and the context. I cannot but think that Fr. Drum has devoted rather too much attention to the abstract possibilities of grammar, and too little to the actual case in hand.

The Thessalonians " expected the Lord's coming to be soon, and feared that the Christians who had died before it might lose some benefit thereby. St. Paul and his two disciples reassure them on this point, and merely bid them be ever ready " (Thessalonians, Introduction, p. xix). It is to reassure them that St. Paul writes, as Fr. Drum puts it in the *Encyclopedia,* that " the brethren who have died will have part in the Second Coming just as they that are now alive (I Thess. 4: 12-17). It is in this sense that Winer in the passage approved by Fr. Drum speaks of the antithesis between οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ and ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες; these are the two categories in question, and St. Paul wishes to explain that the former will be no worse off at the Parousia than the latter. The pronoun ἡμεῖς is therefore in strong antithesis, both in the fifteenth and seventeenth verses; being in strong antithesis, it surely cannot be indefinite. We have the same contrast, though perhaps not quite so strongly, in I Cor. 15: 52; on the one side there are οἱ νεκροί, on the other ἡμεῖς, again only put in for emphasis. By the time this article appears in print my edition of that Epistle in the Westminster Version will doubtless have appeared also, and I may refer the reader to the appendix, on the reading in I Cor. 15: 51, which again incidentally touches on this question. I need only point out here that St. Paul is once more ranging himself and the Christians he is addressing with those who will be alive on the last day.

But can οἱ ζῶντες be conditional? If I rightly understand what Fr. Drum means by ἡμεῖς being indefinite, this second argument is not necessary after the first, and indeed hardly squares with it; conversely, in the *Encyclopedia* he merely lays it down that οἱ ζῶντες is conditional, without saying anything about ἡμεῖς being indefinite; in fact, he seems to take it

as being definite. For my own part, writing in the light of Fr. Drum's note in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, I regret that in my note in *Thessalonians* (p. 18) I did not point to the presence of the definite article, though I had it in my mind when I wrote. I can scarcely conceive of Fr. Drum finding a participle with the definite article and belonging to a definite noun used conditionally. But in any case, οἱ ζῶντες must be taken in contrast to οἱ νεκροὶ, and not construed quite differently. The antithesis is perfectly clear, both in I Thess. 4: 15 (τοὺς κοιμηθέντας) and I Thess. 4: 16-17 (οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ); and its omission in I Cor. 15: 52 (οἱ νεκροί and simply ἡμεῖς) shows that it is inserted, not to limit ἡμεῖς, but to explain and emphasize the contrast still further. The words οἱ περιλειπομενοι must of course be construed on the same lines, whatever they be, as οἱ ζῶντες; Fr. Drum himself translates them as being parallel, both in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW and in the *Encyclopedia*.

With regard to Père Prat, Fr. Drum writes:

> Prat, S.J., in his excellent *Théologie de Saint Paul* holds that St. Paul did not teach the end of the world was near; and explains 1 Thess. 4: 17: "Nous qui vivrons, qui survivrons, etc." The Greek participles present take on a future meaning determined by the tense of the verb of the apodosis. This interpretation seems to purpose the indefiniteness of ἡμεῖς οἱ ζωντες—"We who shall be alive, who shall be left over (whoever we may be), shall be caught up, etc."

On this some remarks seem necessary. In the first place, "apodosis" seems to postulate the "conditional" interpretation of οἱ ζῶντες, but this latter is not to be found in Prat himself. In the next place, when it is said that he "holds that St. Paul did not teach the end of the world was near", stress should be laid on the word *teach*. It is scarcely open to doubt that he holds that St. Paul *thought* so. It was, indeed, from this very page of Prat (Vol. I, p. 109) that I took the sentence quoted in the appendix to Thessalonians: "Would St. Paul speak in this way, if he clearly realized that thousands of years separated him from the end?"

Père Prat writes very cautiously; the important sentences are as follows:

> Paul, qui sait mieux que personne que la date du dernier jour n'entre point dans l'objet de la révélation, n'enseigne pas que le

monde va finir; il déclare formellement que la fin n'est pas imminente; mais, à défaut de lumière spéciale, il s'en tient au mot de l'Évangile. Pourtant il ne semble pas envisager devant lui une longue série de siècles. Sans doute ces paroles: "Nous les vivants, nous les survivants, nous irons au-devant du Seigneur", ne préjugent rien, l'Église ne mourant pas et tous les chrétiens pouvant s'identifier avec elle comme s'ils devaient assister, dans un avenir lointain, à ses triomphes et à ses épreuves. Néanmoins l'Apôtre parlerait-il de la sorte s'il avait le perception nette que des milliers d'années le séparent du terme? Plus tard la perspective s'éloignera. Plus le monde durera, plus on s'habituera à le voir durer.

The last two sentences are especially to be noted: whatever may be meant by the words from Thessalonians "not prejudging anything," it seems clear that Père Prat finds in them sufficient grounds for estimating the Apostle's expectations—which is all that I do. Nor is there any sign that he wishes to make the ἡμεῖς indefinite. In his note on I Thess. 4: 17 he writes:

> Il faudrait, comme en grec, un participe présent (*nos viventes*) ou bien un adjectif (*nos superstites*) lequel étant en corrélation avec un verbe au futur prendrait liu-même le sens du futur: Nous qui vivrons, qui survivrons, etc.

On the whole, I cannot say that I agree with Père Prat on this latter point; but it is a small matter whether we say, "We who are now living", or "We who shall then be living", if the "We" refers to the same parties. I could admit the other rendering without making any further change in my position. But there is no sign that Père Prat wishes to make ἡμεῖς indefinite; on the contrary, this is excluded by his holding out the possibility—whatever the probability may be—that the Christians might identify their own selves with another generation of Christians still in the far future. When therefore Fr. Drum writes in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW: "We wish Fr. Lattey had incorporated into his Appendix on St. Paul's Eschatology Prat's suggestion of the indefiniteness of 'We which live' in I Thes. 4: 17," I can only deny that such a suggestion is to be found there. Indeed, I speak under correction, but I am not aware that it is to be found anywhere, any more than the interpretation of οἱ ζῶντες as conditional.

Still, had it been a matter of grammar on which we differed, I should have been content to let the matter stand over till the next edition of Thessalonians, and should then have rewritten the offending note in a form at once clearer and less displeasing to Fr. Drum. But since the question of inspiration has been raised, I have felt it my duty to be explicit in my own defence, especially as the work in question is the first instalment of a large and not unimportant enterprise. As a matter of fact, at the time of the publication of *Thessalonians* the scheme of the Westminster Version had not reached its ultimate development; and I have to thank Fr. Drum for not letting this divergence of view stand in the way of his accepting a later invitation to collaborate. It was a pleasure to welcome to our small staff of sectional editors such representatives of American exegesis as himself and Dr. Gigot. The *Catholic Encyclopedia,* among its other merits, has united the Catholic scholars of the English-speaking world as never before, and it is to be hoped that the future will be marked by increasing solidarity.

CUTHBERT LATTEY.

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NOTE.—As the grammatical discussion largely turns on the interpretation to be given to a passage in Dr. Moulton's *Prolegomena* (p. 230), I have ventured to ask him to express an opinion on the point. In reply he has sent me the subjoined note. I feel sure that the readers of the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW will be glad to know the view taken by such an acknowledged master of New Testament Greek.

(DR. MOULTON'S INTERPRETATION.)

On the purely grammatical point I need only say that Mr. Lattey has interpreted my own meaning completely, and that I agree with him throughout. My statement in *Prolegomena* was determined by the character of the book, in which very often little more than a casual reference is made to matters on which there was nothing new to say. I think grammarians would agree that a conditional participle *without the article* is a rare use at best, and that formally it can hardly be recognized. In a sentence like *ὁ πιστεύων οὐ κρίνεται,* the meaning

would be little changed if we substituted ἐάν τις πιστεύῃ οὐ κρίνεται, but we should hardly call ὁ πιστεύων conditional. But when the articular participle has so perfectly precise a definite pronoun attached as ἡμεῖς, it seems to me that we cannot possibly regard it as conditional or as a substitute for a protasis. Theologians from their various points of view may interpret what is meant by "We who are living", but I cannot see how the translation can be anything but *nos qui vivimus*, unless with M. Prat we make it *vivemus*: the articular present participle is often timeless, and takes its color from the time of the sentence as a whole.

As to Gal. 2: 18 and I Cor. 10: 30, I should begin by striking out the latter, where surely ἐγώ (emphatic) points to Paul's own practice. The same is the case with the former, but here the condition is unfulfilled—"If I am rebuilding what once I pulled down (which of course I am *not* doing), I am simply demonstrating myself to have been a wrongdoer when I pulled it down." There can hardly be any indefiniteness about ἐμαυτόν here. Of course we do use the first person indefinitely, but the indefiniteness is not in the form but in the context; I make a statement about myself, but show in the context that "I" am only typical. Grammar is full of such cases.

I do not catch Fr. Drum's point as to P. Eleph. 13 τί ἂν σοι ποιοῦντες χαριζοίμην. Did anyone ever question the possibility of putting a conditional participle with a definite first person? If Andrew in that papyrus had written τί ἂν σοι ὁ ποιῶν χαριζοίμην, the grammar would have been parallel perhaps. But could it be construed? Not in any sense which would help this argument.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

Criticisms and Notes.

THEOLOGIA DOGMATICA ORTHODOXA (Ecclesiae Graeco-Russicae) ad Lumen Catholicae Doctrinae examinata et discussa. Tomus I. Prolegomena. Florentiae: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina. 1911. Pp. 814.

THEOLOGIA DOGMATICA ORTHODOXA, etc. Tomus II. Prolegomena. Florentiae: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina. 1913. Pp. 193.

To judge from the amount and detail of erudite research contained in the two volumes of the "Prolegomena" to the *Theologia Dogmatica Orthodoxa*, it would be difficult to find a more exhaustive study of the Russian Church in its relation to the Catholic faith and to the various communions that claim the title of Christian Church. To the student of modern religious history our author is already known by his earlier works on the subject, notably by his *La Chiesa Russa—le sue odierne condizione e il suo Reformismo dottrinale*, wherein he discusses the doctrinal and pastoral activity of the Russian clergy, the conditions of the various monastic institutions, as distinct from the white or secular clergy. He points out the state of doctrinal and moral decay incident to an absolute dependence on a fanatical and political control to which both clergy and people are subject. In another volume, entitled *Il Progresso Dommatico nel Concetto Cattolico*, the author contrasts the various teachings of the modern theological schools as illustrated in the Slav element of the Eastern schismatic communities, with the traditional teaching of the Roman Catholic Church; and he marks with a clearly discerning emphasis the changes that have been wrought in the Oriental schismatic churches by the introduction of Protestant, rationalistic and modernist principles and practices.

The present work, which projects an exhaustive analysis of the Orthodox *Theologia Dogmatica* and of which we have here the introduction and outline, is evidently intended to combine the two aspects set forth in *La Chiesa Russa* and *Il Progresso Dommatico*. It will orientate the student of ecclesiastical history and polemic theology so as to enable him to realize the doctrinal differences on the one hand, and on the other use their exposition for apologetic purposes. The aim is in this way to effect the union for which the Church of Christ has been praying during all the centuries since

the Western Schism turned away nearly one-third of the world's baptized and believing multitudes from the allegiance to St. Peter's successor.

Our literature on this subject is seemingly abundant enough, and of recent years the attention of English and American readers has been directed to the subject by Dr. Adrian Fortescue, Mgr. Thomas J. Shahan (*Am. Cath. Quarterly Review*), Mr. Andrew J. Shipman, and other writers of ability in this field. But the student of ecclesiastical history, of theology and apologetics cannot put his hand on any one reliable source that brings into continuous review all the facts, historical, dogmatic, and ethical which, from the standpoint of systematic efforts at conciliation, are adequate to guide him in taking the position of either defence or protest. Dr. Palmieri proposes to fill this gap in ecclesiastical literature by giving a complete history of the origin, nature, and theological value of the tenets of the Graeco-Russian Church. Under the title of "Prolegomena" he deals with the meaning and practical bearing of the title "Orthodox". Next he states the claims of the Graeco-Russian Church as part of the doctrinal and hierarchical scheme of the Oriental schism. He sets forth and contrasts the dogmatic differences in the Slavonic Byzantine communions as appealing for justification to the first seven ecumenical councils. Comparing these with the dogmatic deposit of faith in the Catholic Church, as represented by the See of Peter, the author leads us to realize what a gap there is between the traditional teaching of the Apostolic Church and the so-called Orthodoxy of the Russian synods. In tracing the gradual development of Russian Orthodoxy, side by side with the teaching maintained in the Roman Catholic Church, the author admirably indicates the influence of Protestantism since the Reformation, and of rationalism, as the legitimate development of the principle of private judgment, and its reaction toward Modernism. This leads to an examination in turn of the "adogmatic" teachings of Tolstoi, Rozanov, Merejkovsky, and their followers in Russia. One finds it easy to trace the vagaries of the various schools, Greek, Russian, and Roumanian, whose theology indicates a steady departure from Apostolic tradition. Dr. Palmieri notes in particular the attitude of the Oriental teachers toward scholastic doctrine and methods; he analyzes the various professions of faith, the symbolic and authoritative utterances of leading churchmen, and gives us to understand their actual and applied meaning by concrete examples. A considerable part of the first volume is given to an examination of the methods adopted in polemical discussion by the Russian theologians, and by those on the Catholic

side, with a view to indicating the dangers that arise from sophistry on the one side, and from a lack of proper understanding and prudent policy on the other.

The initial historical and doctrinal inquiry is brought to a head in the final section of the second volume, wherein the author draws certain conclusions clearly defining the points of difference between the Orthodox Russian communion and the Catholic Church. This allows one to make some estimate of the actual prospects of a reunion of the Russian with the Catholic Church represented by the Holy See.

Unfortunately there has been, as Fr. Palmieri shows, much exaggeration of the differences, at least so far as they are essential, between the doctrinal position of the Eastern and that of the Catholic Church. In practice the dogmatic wall that separates the Russian schismatics from the Catholic centre of unity is less formidable than the polemic zealots on both sides would make it. On the other hand, it is also true that there is a party which would minimize the existing differences as though they were of a purely speculative nature. The truth lies, as in most cases of acrid controversy, between the two extreme assertions. Our author points out four differences that are really of moment, though even these, it seems to us, are reducible to two or at most three. The first is the principle of an organic growth in the Church of Christ, according to which the development of doctrine is of the essence of a living Church. The Russian theologians would have us believe in a fixed deposit of faith, based upon a certain number of ecumenical acts by which the canon of tradition is practically closed for all future time; whereas the Catholic believes in a continuous unfolding of the doctrinal seeds that bear the fruits of a kind to be expected from the growth of the human mind and the material elements upon which it feeds. A second important difference is in the standpoints from which the Eastern and Latin theologians regard the organism itself of the Church. The one maintains that the Church is a republican institution, a federation of independent autocracies for the government of souls; whereas the other believes in a monarchical rule by which one supreme head directs and controls the doctrinal and disciplinary organism, which head is the Supreme Pontiff who acts as Vicegerent of Christ. From this conception of the essential constitution of the Church flows a third and a fourth difference, namely that which regards the Primacy and the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff as an essential part of Catholic doctrine.

The nature of these differences makes it apparent that the question of union is in reality a question of submission or of a return to the

original unity by obedience to the common head. Any union on other grounds is futile, as has been amply demonstrated by the attempts of the Protestant, Anglican, and Old Catholic communions to make an alliance with the Greek and Russian Churches. To yield submission to the authority of the Roman Church in matters of doctrine and discipline, with the right of internal ecclesiastical self-government in all matters of local and temporal interest and due regard for the liturgical traditions, would be much more tolerable, and indeed more worthy of the character of the Russian Church, than its present condition of dependence and slavish subjection to the secular government. It is this that paralyzes all spiritual activity and degrades religion in the eyes of all classes of the people, even those who are naturally observant of what they conceive to be their duty to God.

From what has been said with regard to the two sections of "Prolegomena" the purpose of the entire work becomes clear. In the volumes which are to follow, the details of doctrine and worship in Russian Orthodoxy will find their natural place. It is needless to add that the author's method, like his purpose, is irenical. If at times his strictures appear severe, he justifies them by citations from authorities in the Russian Church. No one who reads any part of the work can fail to get the impression that the author is not only sincere, but also that he is thoroughly familiar with his subject at first hand. Protracted residence in Russia has enabled him to go to original sources for his information, and also to observe for himself the facts they are meant to illustrate.

In conclusion of this somewhat extended notice of an important work, it is but just to state that its completion depends largely upon the financial coöperation of those who may be interested in the subject. The production of the volumes is necessarily expensive. The work requires not only diligent research and adequate knowledge, but also an unusually large and costly apparatus of documents and of research in out-of-the-way archives and libraries. In view of this and of the great good of the enterprise, not only for the learned but for the priest who would lend his aid to the saving of many who seek the spiritual and temporal blessings which union with the Catholic Church would open to countless immigrants in America, the work claims the support of individuals as well as of libraries and educational institutions throughout the country. It would of course be a great advantage to have in English the information which Fr. Palmieri here opens up for the student. But we must secure the original before we can have a translation.

FRANCISCO PALOU'S LIFE AND APOSTOLIC LABORS OF THE VENERABLE FATHER JUNIPERO SERRA. Founder of the Franciscan Missions of California. With an Introduction and Notes by George Wharton James, author of "In and Out of the Old Missions of California," "Modern Mission Architecture," etc. English translation by C. Scott Williams. George Wharton James, Pasadena, Cal. 1913. Pp. 338. With a Chart of California.

THE MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES OF CALIFORNIA. By Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., author of "The Franciscans in California," etc. Vol. I, Lower California; Vol. II, Upper California. The James H. Barry Co., San Francisco. Pp. 654 and 682.

We have on a former occasion spoken of Father Engelhardt's admirable work, of which the first part appeared in 1908, and the second in 1912. As a concise history of the Franciscan missions in California it suggested the want in English of a separate biography of the man who must ever be regarded as the father of those missions, in the sense in which George Washington is called the Father of the United States. Whilst it is true that the two monumental volumes on the California missions by our erudite Franciscan historian are in reality but the beginning of a work that promises to be exhaustive as both a general and local record, a biography of Junipero Serra, the initial and propelling force of an enterprise that has borne abundant fruit, was something distinctly needed for a fuller appreciation of the result itself. For in reading the story of those early enterprises of colonization and conversion since the first landing of the Friars with Hernandos Cortes on the coast of the southern peninsula in 1535, when we meet with Fray Junipero we begin to desire to know more of his wonderful personality. The initial period of California's development offers hardly more than a glance at the territory. A full century elapsed before we hear of two secular priests and then of the Jesuit Fathers preaching the gospel in these parts. When the sons of St. Ignatius had barely established their blessed foothold, a royal decree, prompted by suspicion and jealousy on the one hand and by avarice and ambition on the other, recalled and suppressed them. The Franciscans returned to take their place; and it is then, fully two centuries after their first landing, that they were enabled to effect a real missionary organization. And the man who undertook and carried through the gigantic task of combating Spanish vice and Indian ignorance was Fray Junipero Serra, whose name has been identified with Christianity and civilization in California ever since.

Fr. Junipero was born at Petra on the Island of Majorca in 1713. He entered the Franciscan Order in 1730. His extraordinary gifts of mind were recognized at once, so that he took his degree of academic doctor in theology even before he became a priest. His ordination is assigned by Fr. Engelhardt to the year 1738, though Palou leaves us in doubt on this matter. In 1749 Fr. Serra sets sail from Cadiz for America. His companion is Fr. Francisco Palou. On their arrival in Mexico both are sent to the Indians in Sierra Gorda. After nine years of arduous and successful evangelizing here the two missionaries were ordered to take charge of the Apache missions in Texas. Soon after this Fr. Serra was called to Mexico, and for seven years he was engaged in missionary work in that territory. During the summer of 1767, at the request of the Spanish viceroy, he was sent to California. Here Fr. Palou, his first companion in the Indian missions, once more joined him, and the two labored side by side until the death of Fr. Serra.

It is to Fr. Palou that we owe in the first place the historical data furnished us regarding the work of the missions in California, as detailed with painstaking accuracy in Fr. Engelhardt's volumes. To Fr. Palou we are likewise indebted for the biography of Fr. Junipero Serra, which now for the first time appears in English under the editorship of Mr. James. Of the original account of the missions, published in Spanish under the title of *Noticias de la Nueva California*, Hubert Howe Bancroft, the American historian of the Pacific States, writes: "No man was so well qualified by opportunities and ability, to write the early history of California as Palou, and he made excellent use of his advantages. As early as 1773, and probably before that date, he began accumulating material, by copying original documents and recording events. He continued this labor of preparing careful historical notes down to 1783, devoting to it such time as he could spare from his missionary duties at San Francisco." [1]

We have to thank the officials of the Spanish government for carefully safeguarding these documents from the beginning, and for having them faithfully copied for the use of students. To the same Fr. Palou do we owe the intimate history of Fr. Junipero, who was able to inspire his companion with such sentiments of love and respect that the latter regarded him as a saint endowed with a zeal and devotion paralleled only by his extraordinary sagacity and foresight as a leader in the midst of the most harassing circumstances. On reading this biography one is puzzled which to admire the more in Fray Junipero, his childlike goodness of heart or the

[1] Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 418.

wisdom that shines forth from his admirable government of the missions. The life of Fr. Serra is a striking illustration of the divine teaching that the pure of heart shall see God and that the peacemakers shall possess the land. The translator of Palou's Spanish original is Professor C. Scott Williams of Los Angeles, who was assisted in the rendering of the Latin documents by one of the Jesuit Fathers at Santa Clara. The well-known ability, in the matter of critical segregation of material on the subject of the California Missions, of George Wharton James gives to the volume published under his direction every guarantee of fidelity. No one will accuse him of being a prejudiced witness in the case. His testimony to the sincerity of an activity inspired by religious motives and ideals, is all the more valuable as coming from a layman and one who makes no profession of the Catholic faith. It is well to remember that Fr. Junipero modeled his missions on the pattern of the Jesuit Reductions, and out of these grew the present cities of San Diego, Monterey, San Francisco. He is thus the true Father of California, and worthy of a memorial in the Capitol as well as in the sanctuary of the Church.

OLD TESTAMENT STORIES. By C. C. Martindale, S.J. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo.; Sands & Co., London.

HALF HOURS WITH GOD'S HEROES, or Stories from the Sacred Books. By the Rev. Thomas Williams. John Murphy Co., Baltimore, Md.

THE DIVINE TWILIGHT. Old Testament Stories in Scripture Language. By the Rev. Cornelius Holland, S.T.L. Catholic Scripture Texts Society, Providence, R. I.

Those who are familiar with Father Faber's masterpiece of spiritual philosophy are not likely to forget his thoughts on the peculiar power of the Old Testament, on "the hold which it lays on the minds of those who have become familiar with it in early youth and of the deep basis of religious feeling which it seems to plant in them". The secret of that hold he finds in the fact that the Bible brings home to the soul, as does no merely human document, the character of God as Creator. "We do not know why it is that a tale, the like of which in common history would barely interest us, should fascinate us in the words of inspiration, why ordinary things should seem sacred because they are related there, and why simple expressions should have a latent spell within them enabling them to fix themselves deep in our souls, to be the germs of a strong and dutiful devotion through a long life, and then be a helpful power to us in death. It is because it is all so possessed with God. The

true humble pathetic genius of a creature comes into our souls and masters them. The knowledge of God becomes almost a personal familiarity with Him and the thought of Him grows into the sight of Him. Look at the fathers of the desert and the elder saints of the Catholic Church and see what giants of holiness they were, whose daily food was in the mysterious simplicity of the Sacred Scriptures. The Holy Book lies like a bunch of myrrh in the bosom of the Church, a power of sanctification like to which in kind or in degree there is no other, except the sacraments of the Precious Blood." [1]

It is this dominant note pervading the Bible that bespeaks the claims of children's books such as those that head the present notice. The whole educational motif, or rather the very life of the Church's educational system, is the idea of God as Creator and consequently owner, Lord and Master, of the universe and especially of man. To teach the child to remember its Creator in the days of its young life so that when it is old it may not depart from Him, is the supreme aim of all education. Consequently whatever contributes, and in the degree in which it does contribute, to this end is valuable, as a means. Of course it is uttering the veriest truism to say that the Bible is such a means and the one most available. Indeed it is only the vivid style in which Father Faber presents this fact that justifies the foregoing quotation from the *Creator and Creature*.

In the program of studies in our schools a generous place is provided for Bible History, and where this study is rightly pursued children are being thereby fundamentally educated. Unfortunately this condition is not always realized and consequently the condition-ate is in so far missed. But the books above are not Bible *history*: they are Bible *stories*. The difference is manifest. In the one case rigid facts and intellect predominate; in the other imagination is allowed more scope, though not of course to alter, but to illumine and beautify, them with its colors. And it is owing precisely to this, that the stories are woven out of facts which are stranger than fiction, that they owe so much of their power as well as charm. Or, as Mgr. Shahan in his introduction to *The Divine Twilight* observes, these old stories have "an unique simplicity about them which is very winning and hard to match elsewhere . . . for they come down from the ages when God was guiding the childhood of the race." But besides this "they have a depth of meaning which cannot be matched in histories from uninspired sources . . . They are true to facts of human nature as life reveals them," and they are full of "the first truth of religion, God's Providence, in the light of which alone the facts of life can be rightly judged and appre-

[1] *Creator and Creature*, p. 79.

ciated. It is the radiance of this blessed truth of God's Providence that lends such a beauty to these stories and endears them so to the unspoiled heart of childhood."

Each of the books before us possesses some distinctive characteristic and consequently individual merits. Father Martindale's *Stories* is a very beautiful volume both as to outer appearance and inner contents. With very large letterpress, twelve handsome illustrations in colors, thick excellent paper—the book in its make-up will at once capture the eye of the child. The stories centre in the leading personages of the Old Testament and are charmingly told, not in the very words of the Bible, but with simplicity and grace that cannot fail to captivate the little ones.

Half Hours with God's Heroes is likewise an attractive book, well printed, and beautifully illustrated from artistic photo-engravings. The stories here likewise centre on the great Biblical characters, and are told by one who knows how to talk to the mind and heart of children without "talking down" to them or lessening the dignity of his subject.

The Divine Twilight also is neatly printed and well illustrated. As the sub-title indicates, the stories are told in Scripture language. This, of course, from one point of view is an obvious excellence, even though from another aspect it leaves less room for the story-teller's imagination or artistic play in moulding the material. Moreover, the book will serve young people, not simply small children, as an introduction to the reading of the Bible itself—though the latter process should be done under competent guidance, as the Sacred Books contain not a little that neither interests nor edifies youth. The appended maps and notes to the text add very greatly to the value of the book. We said above that the volume is "well illustrated". There is just one picture that had better been omitted (p. 114). There is no reason why any picture placed in the hands of youth should possess a perfectly nude figure. *Mundis omnia munda?* Surely, *in sensu Paulino*, which has to do with a different subject. Since Professor Münsterberg told the world a short time ago some wholesome truths on matters of this kind, many people are backing up their arguments with the authority of the eminent psychologist, though the Professor did but express in modern terms the very ancient rational instincts which the wisdom of Catholicism always embodied and inculcated. Much more might be said on this subject. We inculcate upon our youth modesty of the eyes. Our object-lessons should conform to our doctrine. This is no question of mere prudery.

To conclude. A decade or so ago the priest felt somewhat at a loss what books containing Bible stories to put into the hands of

the little ones of his flock. Such books were then mostly the work of non-Catholic pens. Happily this is no longer the case. The clergy have now at their command a considerable number of excellent Catholic books that draw forth for children the treasures wholesome and beautiful of the Sacred Books. And indeed had we none others than the three most recent books listed above, we should have no cause to complain of our poverty. All these are pastoral aids which the zealous priest will want to see in the homes of his flock and in the hands of the *spes gregis*.

JESUS CHRIST. His Life, His Passion, His Triumph. By the Very Rev. Augustine Berthe, C.SS.R. From the French by the Rev. Ferreol Girardey, C.SS.R. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo. 1914. Pp. 525.

What is said above in regard to our increasing literature relating to the Old Testament is especially true in respect to the growing literature on the life of Christ. Until a comparatively recent date we possessed a rather small list of good books on the life of our Lord. Recently the number of such books has greatly increased, so that now we have a fairly rich abundance. The best of them of course have been translated from the French of Fouard, Didon, Le Camus (whose works have no superior in any language in point of accuracy, erudition, and literary excellence), while the names of Coleridge, Maas, Meschler, Costelloe, Holland, will recur to any one recalling to mind the advance made on these lines in recent years. And now with the work before us another noteworthy addition is made to the growing list. The original was published some twelve years ago in France, where it has been warmly received, notwithstanding the considerable number of works on the same subject existing in that country. It no doubt owes its popularity to its clear method and its easy and graceful style. The Gospel narratives blend naturally into a harmonized unity, the topographical features and local coloring take their proper—that is, a subordinate, and yet necessary—place in the historical picture; questions of mere erudition are not obtruded, yet the author's opinions are apparent even though woven fittingly with the general tapestry; the style is dignified, but easily fluent—qualities which, on the whole, are fairly well retained in the translation. All in all the work is at once instructive, interesting, edifying, and will appeal proportionately to the clergy, religious, and laity. Right heartily do we second "the author's ambition [which] would be to see this work become the book of the Christian family out of which every evening in the family circle of the parents and the children a chapter of this life of Jesus would be read aloud before the recitation of night prayers in common." *Fiat, fiat.*

L'ASCETICISME CHRETIEN pendant les trois premiers siecles de L'Eglise. Par F. Martinez. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne. 1913. Pp. 208.

The subject of asceticism in the Catholic Church has of late years received new importance by the revival of the critical inquiry into the historical sources of Christianity. Some German writers have been at pains to prove that the monastic system of the Catholic Church is but a continuation of the Egyptian cult of Serapis, and that this pagan fanaticism finds its modifications in various forms, not only of Hindu, Greek and Jewish, but of Christian worship, as exemplified by the early anchorites and later monks of the Catholic Church. Weingarten goes so far as to assert that the early followers of Christ knew nothing of the ascetical spirit, that in fact all the stories about Paul and Anthony with their cenobitical disciples of the desert are the inventions of later writers, and that subsequently the monastic system of the Church was introduced from the East.

It is against this thesis that F. Martinez here brings proof from historical sources. Accepting the indication of writers like Bornemann, Harnack, and Schiwietz, who have made special studies in this field, he collates the available Patristic testimony, and at the same time takes occasion to verify or correct the data and citations of non-Catholic writers on the subject. Thus the author confutes the statement of Neander that neither the life nor the teaching of Christ or His immediate disciples offers a sufficient warrant for the practice of the evangelical counsels. The argument drawn from evangelical teaching and apostolic practice is further supported by the testimony of St. Ignatius of Antioch, the teaching of the Didaché, of Pastor Hermas, St. Justin, Tatian, and Athenagoras.

While examining these early witnesses to the doctrine and practice of asceticism, such as it is maintained in the Church to this day, the author does not lose sight of the modifying influence exercised by the gnostic teachers who, like our so-called Christian scientists, forced the practical recognition of occult elements, and advocated a stoic acceptance of the vicissitudes of life. The same method of application is observed with reference to the later schools of asceticism. The teachings of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Hyppolitus are examined in the light of the neo-Platonism of the Alexandrian and other Greek schools since these had their effect in moulding the spiritual and intellectual life, and upon the interpretation of the Scripture by the great Fathers and apologists of the post-Apostolic period. Special attention is given to an analysis of the teaching of Clement

and of Origen, on the subject of celibacy. Virginity was indeed the central point of asceticism during the first Christian ages. From it came the spirit and practice of the religious life illustrated in the monastic institutions through the practice of the evangelical counsels.

CATHOLIC RELIGION. A Statement of Christian Teaching and History. By Charles Alfred Martin, Member of the Cleveland Apostolate, Author of "Cana," "Follow Me," etc. Second edition. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1913. Pp. 486.

Ordinarily the book reviewer is dispensed from noticing second editions of the works which he has commended at their first appearance. If we make an exception in behalf of Fr. Martin's book, it is to indicate its practical value as a guide in popular apologetics for the missionary priest, especially in the United States. We have here from the pen of an experienced apostle of Catholic truth, what he himself aptly calls "a bird's-eye view of religion." He sketches for us the panorama of the great facts of religion, in their relation to the divine purpose of the salvation of mankind. In doing so he uses the familiar forms and the coloring that suit our vision. We are made to see and understand religion in its origin, as it springs from the desires and ideals of mankind and is demonstrated by the universal yearnings of the human heart. For thus it speaks to us in art and letters and science, making us conscious of our striving after the true and the beautiful, with the longing that recognizes its first fulfilment in the angelic message of Bethlehem—"Peace to men of good will." From this vision arises another which embodies the fact of a Church teaching and guiding; of a new Jerusalem with its fountains of grace and spiritual joy in the flow of the sacramental waters that cleanse and refresh unto eternal life. The efficacy of all this activity on the part of Christ through His Church the author demonstrates by giving a general review of the world's history in its relation to the Catholic Church, which we thus recognize to be the one historical institution wherein the Divine Paraclete continues and consummates the work of salvation and of perfection of the human race.

It is a book which has behind it, as we said, the practical experience of the missionary; it converts the purely academic and often disheartening method of the theological text-book into a living and attractive design, so that the young student of theology may make its contents more easily his own.

LEGISLATIO NOVA DE FORMA SUBSTANTIALI QUOAD SPONSALIA ET MATRIMONIUM CATHOLICORUM. Commentarii quos habebat Julius de Becker, Praelatus Domesticus SS. Pii X, Rector Collegii Americani Immac. Concept. B.V.M,. etc. Editio tertia aucta et emendata. Lovanii, Typis Frid. Ceuterick. 1913. Pp. 68.

MARRIAGE LAWS: Brief Explanation of the Decree "Ne Temere", embodying all the Decisions of the Sacred Congregations up to December, 1913. By Fr. Stanislaus, O.F.M. The Dolphin Press. 1914.

The laws on the form of Marriage, promulgated in 1907, made it necessary to modify the teaching found in the standard treatises "De Matrimonio", among which Dr. Canon De Becker's work *De Sponsalibus et Matrimonio* holds a prominent place. The fundamental principles touching the sacramental character of the contract, and based on the jurisdiction of the Church as safeguarder of its sanctity, remain of course unaltered. But the form attesting the expression of mutual consent, and the securing of the record by which the indissolubility is protected are elements of the contract subject to the changing conditions of parochial and social life. There arise too at times circumstances which demand a special adjustment of the legal prescriptions, or a dispensation from the normal requirements, over which the authorities of the Church have to watch. Thus the new commentaries become a necessity with the growth of legislation embodying decisions intended to settle doubts and difficulties that can not always be foreseen. Monsignor De Becker wrote his original work with a special regard for conditions in America, since his students at the Louvain University are to be prepared for the American mission. We understand that he purposes to issue soon a new edition of his entire Tractatus. Meanwhile this third edition of the Commentary will be of good service to students everywhere. It contains the decrees and declarations of the S. Congregation of the Council, the answers to doubts and the instructions of the S. Congregations of the Sacraments and the Holy Office. With much clearness the author explains the difference between the old and the new laws on marriage, and points out under separate headings what is required for valid and lawful celebration of marriage, the formalities to be observed in ordinary and extraordinary cases, and the sanctions that accompany the ecclesiastical law.

In connexion with the above it is hardly necessary to recommend the new edition of Fr. Stanislaus's Commentary, *Marriage Laws*. It brings the essential requirements of the new regulations within

the reach of missionary priests and students who may prefer to have the matter in English. The new edition is intended particularly for American priests, and is the result of special study of cases that have appeared in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW. It is a well-printed booklet with an index to make immediate reference easy. The cost is so trifling that those who have the older edition will meet no difficulty in securing the amended new issue containing the decisions and instructions of the Holy See on the subject, to the end of the year 1913.

EUCHARIST AND PENANCE IN THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES OF THE CHURCH. By Gerhard Rauschen, Ph.D., S.T.D. Authorized translation from the second German edition. B. Herder, St. Louis. 1913. Pp. 260.

It is instructive and, to the devout, edifying, to study the discipline of the Church, especially as regards the Blessed Eucharist and Penance, as it is guided by the Holy Ghost into accommodation with the varying spiritual needs of times and place. We have not to go beyond our own day to witness an example of this adjustment. In the volume before us we have the results of a most painstaking critical study, pursued, it must have been for years, by an eminent professor of Dogma in the University of Bonn, into the discipline of the early Church on the celebration of the Mass, reception of Holy Communion, and the practice of public penance, and confession—including herein particularly auricular, i. e. private confession. We shall not attempt to discuss the opinions maintained by the learned author on these subjects. They are, needless to say, based upon the original sources, which are cited and quoted on every page of his book. We shall confine ourselves to a brief summary of his main conclusions concerning confession: 1. *There can be no question of any substantial modification or innovation on the part of the Church in the administration of the sacrament of Penance* [the author's italics throughout]. 2. The Church has always taught that "mortal sins" must be submitted to the power of the keys, i. e. confession is necessary as a requisite for their forgiveness. 3. *There was no agreement as to what sins were to be considered mortal* among the ecclesiastical authors for centuries. Many sins are now called mortal which in the eyes of the ancients were reckoned as "daily" or "light" sins. And he quotes St. Irenaeus: "Si non sunt tanta peccata, ut excommunicandus quisque judicetur, non debet a medicina dominici corporis separari." 3. In the first four centuries public confession for all mortal sins committed openly was the rule throughout the Church. But even this public confession presupposed a

previous confession made privately, since it could only take place after the Church authorities had given their consent. During the fourth century we find that in many parts of the Church private penance and private confession, followed by absolution, replaced public penance. Hence it may be justly inferred that this practice existed even at an earlier date, at least for mortal sins committed in private. After 400, the practice of public penance and especially public confession became more and more restricted; in the Oriental Church it seems to have entirely disappeared (p. 251).

Although the present work does not provide a detailed refutation of Lea's famous *History of Auricular Confession;* it does supply much material and the principles for such a refutation. For the rest, it may be worth while to quote the opinion of so competent an authority as Professor Rauschen on Mr. Lea's *History*. Lea, he says, shows himself to be a man of wide learning and has gathered together a large amount of material bearing on confession and indulgences, a portion of which is foreign to the subject. He tries to be calm and impartial, but *knows very little of Christian antiquity*, and this is a serious defect. Lea almost entirely ignores the classical work of Morinus and confines himself to the treatment of the history of confession in the Middle Ages and in modern times. He purposely refrains from quoting Protestant authors, but shows little familiarity with Catholic institutions and makes many mistakes and blunders. He finds difficulties where none exist, and exaggerates others. He holds that the obligation of confessing one's sins was first set up as a divine institution by Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard. *An excellent refutation of Lea's work* was written by Boudinhon, *Sur l'Histoire de la Penitence à propos d'un Ouvrage Recent* (in *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, 1897).

Let us add in conclusion a word in praise of the translation, which is so well done that one regrets the absence of the maker's name from the title page.

PRAELECTIONES DOGMATICAE quas in auditorum suorum usu exaravit Josephus Grendel, S.V.D., S. Theol. D. ejusdemque in Studio generali S.V.D., ad S. Gabrielem prope Vindobonam lector. Tomus I. De Deo Uno et Trino. Steyl ad Mosam: sumptibus ac typis Domus Missionum. 1912. Pp. 781.

Although we have no lack of exhaustive treatises of Dogmatic Theology to serve the professor and student as a guide in the authoritative exposition of Catholic Dogma, there is a certain individuality in the method of some teachers that makes their work of par-

ticular value. One such is the volume of Dr. Grendel, professor at the Steyl theological seminary of the Congregation of the Divine Word. First of all, he gives what seems to us a singularly unbiased history of the development of dogmatic theology, allowing due credit to methods that point to new ways, materially and formally, of affirming and demonstrating truth. Most of our apologists and dogmatic theologians, in dealing with the objections to the traditional Catholic faith by men like Nitzsch or Harnack, make the mistake of denying apparently established facts as well as the deductions drawn from them by a biased judgment. To the mature mind this process is fatal; it destroys faith as soon as the evidence of the facts furnishing a criterion of truth makes itself sufficiently felt.

In his exposition of revealed truth our author begins with the existence of God as knowable through reason; thence he passes to the supernatural and mediate cognition of God. The subject of the Divine Essence, physical and metaphysical, leads to the consideration of the attributes, quiescent and active, of God. Thence, without insisting on any division of general and special theology, the author passes in logical order to the theme of the Trinity, and concludes with the argument of the oneness of the Three Persons. The relation of the Holy Trinity, as active in the three Divine Persons, and further as reflected in the creature, its intelligence and its created limitations, closes the volume.

Apart from the method of exposition and certain definitions brought about by the development in dogmatic revelation, which in some cases, as in that of the knowableness of God from reason, have received amplification since the Vatican Council, nothing new need be looked for in a book of this kind. But the whole presentation is made with remarkable clearness; the author avoids all mere rhetoric, but argues his theses in syllogistic form. Whilst it is evident that Fr. Grendel is by no means wedded to a rigid formalism, such as we commonly associate with an excessively scholastic method, he rightly values the use of syllogism in argument; and he so employs it that it becomes of real profit to the student, since it emphasizes the "medius terminus" which in every case contains the gist of the argument. The references to modern literature indicate a work which will help the student to interpret Catholic truth in the face of ultra-modernistic refinement and which anticipates the weakness of arguments offering plausibility in place of logic and certitude in relation to the eternal truths. The typography and general arrangement of the volume are admirable; the division of the text allows a judicious separation of the merely illustrative features and accessories to dogmatic teaching.

Literary Chat.

The occurrence this month of St. Patrick's Day makes appropriate some allusion to a recent book entitled *On the Threshold of Home Rule*, by P. J. Conlan. The familiar question: "How is old Ireland, and how does she stand?" receives here a more cheerful answer than poor Napper Tandy was able to fetch from out the deeps of his sorrow-beclouded soul. The "hanging of men and women for the wearing of the green" is no longer in vogue and Erin seems about to rise "from the ashes of her desolation to take her rightful place in the world". The grounds for his hope are ably established and glowingly exhibited by Mr. Conlan. He tells the story of Ireland's struggle for self-government. The main features in the recent phases of this struggle will probably be familiar to our readers through the daily press; but it is good to have them unified and retold by the eloquent pen of Mr. Conlan and the authoritative writers whom he abundantly cites as witnesses.

The arguments for Home Rule will likewise be well known, summed up as they are in England's universally admitted misgovernment of Ireland during so many centuries. Taxation without representation is a plea which every fair-minded man, especially every American, can easily understand. But Ireland has been taxed for centuries without adequate representation, and she has been burdened to an overwhelmingly unjust extent. Mr. Conlan brings evidence to prove that since 1853 Ireland has been obliged to pay $13,500,000 a year more than her share. Aside from the excess paid between 1801 and 1853, and taking only the overcharge from the latter year until now, "Ireland has paid over and above her proportionate share of imperial taxation, between three and four billions of dollars". But, it may be asked, has there not been some redress? Have not some of these billions come back to Ireland? To this query Mr. Conlan answers: "Not one cent."

On the contrary, "ten million more have since been added to Ireland's share, making a grand total of $23,500,000 annually beyond what she ought to pay as her portion of the white man's burden. In one of the articles of the union between Great Britain and Ireland it was expressly stipulated that the debts of the two contracting parties should never be united, and for the best of reasons: for while the debt of Ireland at the time (1801) was only a little over $100,000,000, that of England was $2,230,000,000 or about twenty-two times the debt of Ireland! It was also agreed that Ireland should never be asked to pay more than her means would warrant." How both these conditions were and are being broken, Mr. Conlan goes on to show (p. 99). Concerning these and other no less patent grounds for the justice of Home Rule, notably those based on Ireland's long denied rights to adequate means of education, we must refer the reader to the author's own eloquent pages. The book should be read by every lover of liberty and fair play. It is instructive, interesting, and inspiring. (Angel Guardian Press, Boston, Mass.)

Those whose memory easily overleaps the generation that has passed since the beginning of the reign of Leo XIII, may recollect the impulse given to Thomistic studies by that great Pontiff and especially through his Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*. The mature fruits of that impulse are manifest in the abundant literature of Catholic philosophy which has been produced and written not only in Latin but in almost every modern language. Prior to that papal document the number of books treating of Catholic philosophy in English was neither large nor of a very high order of merit. Since then the contrary has been realized.

One at least of the most important additions to our Catholic philosophical literature was Fr. Rickaby's translation of St. Thomas's *Contra Gentiles*.

The sumptuous folio alone in which this admirable translation is embodied is an apt tribute to the dignity of the immortal classic.

And now in more recent years the English Dominicans have set their hands to translating the Angelic Doctor's masterpiece, the *Summa Theologica*. The translation is rapidly advancing and soon our English speech will be on a par with French and German in possessing the greatest synthesis of spiritual wisdom ever constructed by the mind of man.

We are led to these observations by the recent publication of another volume compiled from the writings of St. Thomas and entitled *On Prayer and the Contemplative Life*. The fact that the translating and the editing have been done by the eminent Dominican writer, the Very Rev. Hugh Pope, is sufficient guarantee for its scholarly and literary excellence. The volume contains the various "questions" taken from the *Summa*—nine in all—in which St. Thomas treats of prayer and contemplation. The editorial work consists chiefly in additions to the text from the writings of St. Augustine and Cajetan, and the indexing. The modern mind in its reaction from crass materialism has recently been swinging to the other extreme. The danger at present lies on the side of a vague mysticism in which the deceptive flashes of disordered fancy and the beclouding vapors of sentimentality threaten to lead the mind of the age into more hopeless morasses than were even those that were comprised in the gross materialism of a preceding generation. There is no sure and safe road to union with the true ideal—the ideal which in its actual concreteness is God Himself—except the one which was indicated by Jesus Christ, the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Nor is there any guide to and along that road so well informed and experienced as the Angelic Doctor. For this reason the present treatise on prayer and the contemplative life—that is, on genuine mysticism—should be welcomed by all who seek for sound direction in the delicate processes of the soul's intimate communion with its Creator. (Benziger Bros., New York.)

Or rather we should call St. Thomas's treatment of the subject the *science*, the philosophy, of such direction, though it must always be remembered that with the Angelic Doctor the science of the unitive life was the reduction not simply of the abstract *art* of that life but the systematized expression of his own experience. What he wrote on these spiritual processes he had first experienced in his own soul. Not reduced to so orderly an intellectualism but expressed in the forms of living concrete experience are such transcripts of the unitive life as are to be found in the "Dialogue" of St. Catharine of Siena. In this masterpiece of mysticism the converse of the rapt soul of a Saint with its spouse is narrated right out of the vividness and glow of actual experience. Those who are not in a position to form acquaintance with the Italian original of this spiritual classic will find it accessible in an excellent French translation by Père Hurtaud, O.P. The editor has prefaced the first volume with a critical introduction which throws much light upon the text and prepares the reader to enter into the spirit of the work. (Paris, Lethielleux, *Le Dialogue de Saint Catherine de Sienne*. 2 vols.)

In *Supernatural Merit*, the Rev. F. Remler, C.M., gives not a treatise on the spiritual life, but within some ten score pages he expounds the theology of supernatural merit whereby the soul's "treasure in heaven" is accumulated. The author's method combines accuracy of statement with a conversational style. He succeeds in throwing light on certain difficulties that beset the popular mind concerning the conciliation of the divine mercy and justice. (Herder: St. Louis.)

It is no doubt profoundly true that the child's education should begin two hundred years before its birth. At the same time its very profundity renders the maxim practically meaningless. It ceases to be "pragmatically" true.

What is practicable is to start with the education of the *mother*. If every mother would read and reduce to practise the *Counsels of Perfection for Christian Mothers* translated from the French of the Abbé Le Jeune by Francis A. Ryan, the problem of the child, of the home, and indeed of society generally would be fairly solved. The book has nothing to do—at least directly—with the hygiene of the body, but very much to do with the sanity of the mother's soul and character. It treats in a plain, simple style of some fundamental truths of the spiritual life as they affect or should affect the Christian wife and mother. It will be a good serviceable help to the priest in his pastoral office. The translation is well done and the book well made. (Herder: St. Louis.)

The clergy need to keep informed on what government is doing as regards labor legislation. Seeing however that enactments differ considerably in different States and that all legislatures do not move *pari passu* in these matters, it is no easy task to know just what has been and is being done for labor in this big land of ours. Fortunately, in this as in almost every other department of human activity results are most quickly and surely attained by coöperation. The American Association for Labor Legislation does propaganda work and through its review, issued quarterly, sums up the results. The last October number presents an excellent summary of labor legislation during 1913. The survey, which is the fifth annual report of the kind, supplements the earlier issues and brings down to date the record of labor legislation in the United States. Relative to the seriously pressing problem of unemployment it is interesting to know that eight States have enacted laws on the subject. "In Illinois a commission was created to study the causes and effects, and among the many very wide duties conferred upon the new California commission of immigration and housing is the duty to 'obviate unemployment'. In four States provision was made for free public employment bureaux, and in five States the regulations governing private bureaux were straightened—excessive fees, fraudulent placements, unsuitable locations of offices, and sending applicants to immoral resorts being the main points of attack" (p. 420). All this shows a healthy progress in legislation. Of course it is comparatively easy to make laws, but quite another thing to administer them. Well, upon that point there is likewise special legislation the measures whereof are also summarized in the report before us. Moreover, the December issue of the magazine is devoted entirely to the problems of administration.

The problems are of course tremendously complex; and while they are still far from, and probably never will attain, satisfactory solution, progress is being made and the conditions under which men, women, and children of to-day labor in factories are certainly being improved by recent legislation. The student of industrial laws who wishes to keep fully abreast with the movement will be greatly assisted by the *Bulletin of the International Labor Office*, issued monthly by the Pioneer Press (London). Summaries of what is being done in labor legislation throughout Europe appear regularly in its pages.

The *Educational Directory* for 1913 has recently been issued by the Government Press, Washington, D. C., and may be had for the asking. Those who are interested in educational statistics will find here a rich abundance of tables of facts, dates, and personages.

What, if any, is *the policy of the United States toward industrial monopoly?* An answer to this question is proposed by Prof. Knauth in a monograph bearing the title just emphasized and constituting a recent issue of the Studies in Economics issued by Columbia University (No. 138). The author enters upon no discussion of monopolies: he simply seeks to discover our governmental policy as such. The study does not extend to the present

administration. It ends with President Taft's term of office. It analyzes the history of anti-trust legislation in Congress from 1890 to 1913; the views and policies of the executive—the last five presidents; and the decisions of the Supreme Court. The conclusion reached is that the government policy has been mostly negative; that "the government shows no evidence of ever having undertaken seriously a study of the trust problem, such as would be necessary for the formation of a definite and enlightened policy" (p. 230).

The way to true happiness is pointed out in a little volume—which is as beautiful in its outer appearance as it is in its inner treasures—under the title *Blessed are Ye!* by Paul Doncœur, S.J. In the form of dialogue between disciple and the Master many wholesome and consoling truths are conveyed. (Herder: St. Louis.)

The *Hossfeld Method* of studying languages has much to recommend it for the simplicity and logical order in which it proposes the exercises to the student. Prof. A. Rota's *Manual for Learning the Italian Language* (Peter Reilly: Philadelphia) is a good illustration. It consists of 62 lessons; each lesson, of four pages, gives, first, the grammatical rules, then a vocabulary, next application of rules to words in conversation, lastly reading exercises from classical authors, with notes. Clerics in America need to study Italian whether their aim is to improve their minds by general culture for the propagation of Christian ideals, or to spread salvation by making the sacraments accessible to the multitudes of Italian workmen around us. The same publisher issues grammars of the French, Japanese, Spanish, Dutch, Russian, German, Portuguese, Swedish and Dano-Norwegian languages, following the identical method.

In a third edition of Wilfrid Ward's *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (Longmans, Green and Company), the author takes occasion to correct several errors and inaccuracies that had crept into the first two editions. Furthermore, new material is added in the form of a letter from the Cardinal to Bishop Ullathorne touching Newman's criticisms of the *Dublin Review*, whilst it was under the editorship of William George Ward, in 1875.

Mr. Wilfrid Ward's Reminiscences of Cardinals Newman and Vaughan, John Stuart Mills, Tennyson, and Disraeli are announced. (Longmans, Green and Company.)

In a little booklet of 125 pages, *The Vigil Hour*, Father S. A. Ryan, S.J., provides a series of acts of devotion for the Eucharistic Hour, an exercise which is becoming popular among clergy and laity. This and Father Lasance's book on the subject of the Blessed Sacrament furnish ample variety for the guidance of those who direct the Holy Hour. (Benziger Bros.)

The Lenten Conferences preached by the eminent Dominican orator Père Janvier in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris, are developing in their published form into a series of volumes that bid fair to rival in number, as they certainly do in quality, those of his illustrious predecessor, Monsabré. Ten volumes devoted to the general aspects of Catholic and Moral doctrine, and two devoted to the special aspects (Faith), have thus far appeared. The most recent volume contains the Conferences of the Lent of 1913, on Hope. The discourses here, like the other portions of the series which we have previously noticed, are doctrinal treatises moulded into oratorical form, wherein theological breadth and depth and acumen are radiant with the splendors of eloquence. Each Conference is a treasury of gems of thought set in a casket of rhetorical beauty.

We have formerly called attention to the Hon. James Boyle's volume *What is Socialism?* It is a pleasure to make mention here of a recent book

by the same thoughtful and practical writer, *The Minimum Wage and Syndicalism* (Stewart & Kidd, Cincinnati, pp. 136). The two subjects expressed in the title are not of course logically connected, but they are treated together as being two ways in which the socially restless *Zeitgeist* is manifesting itself. Mr. Boyle knows his subjects and treats them trenchantly, lucidly, and in an up-to-date fashion.

Mgr. von Mathies writes for Germans in a style similar to that of Father Bernard Vaughan addressing English readers, and is as prolific. His latest book is *Mehr Ernst,* a sort of mirror for people who need to examine their conscience as to the manner in which they deport themselves in social, business, and church circles. The book is likely to be of service to preachers, because the author furnishes a rich store of Scriptural citations for all his instructions. (Fr. Pustet and Co.)

An instructive and attractive little volume for people at the end of their teens, who read French, is P. Louis Rouzic's *Avant le Mariage.* It discusses wedlock, with its joys and possible miseries; but it chiefly aims at showing the young how to make marriage happy by forethought, self-respect, and a prudent choice of company, time, and opportunity to study dispositions. Two introductory chapters deal with celibacy and "les vieilles filles". (P. Lethielleux, Paris.)

In similar style the same firm publishes Father Henry C. Schuyler's three volumes of "Les Vertus du Christ", to which we have referred before. The translations by P. Bonnassieux are excellent.

G. Bell and Sons (London) are issuing Ranke's *History of the Popes,* as part of Bohn's Popular Library, in pocket edition. The three volumes cover practically the story of three centuries of the Papacy beginning with the sixteenth. The author wrote as a Protestant, during the first half of the last century. His work was made famous in the English-speaking world by the introductory portion of Macaulay's eloquent criticism. At this date the work invites fresh criticism in connexion with the exhaustive histories of the Papacy by Dr. Horace K. Mann, Fr. Michael, S.J., Doctor Janssen, and Professor Pastor. These deal with portions of the period that precede and lead up to the story where Ranke begins. Ranke's first chapters however offer some interesting points of comparison, especially since Pastor's first volume partly covers identical ground, although he illustrates his part by new lights. The agents for these volumes of the Bohn library are the Macmillan Company, New York.

P. Worlitscheck's *Fastenvortraege* under the title "Paulus und die Moderne Seele" have a distinct originality of form. They are addressed to the more educated class of Germans whom one expects to meet in churches of the University city of Munich. (B. Herder.)

Among the stories in light vein recently issued are Father T. A. Fitzgerald's *Homespun Yarns,* "while the kettle and the cricket sing". They deal with Irish life in popular fashion, and are interestingly told. The critic might be a little puzzled occasionally by a seeming anachronism, as when the clever Irish Franciscan introduces us to an incident that occurred "in the dim and distant past of the historic city of Dublin", when "the city's gas supply had failed through an accident to the gasometer." But that is part of the humor of the series. (M. H. Gill and Son, Dublin.)

The *Romance on El Camino Real,* by Jarrett T. Richards, is full of interesting and chatty illustration of California life. The scenes vividly portray the mixture of Spanish, Indian and Yankee life which was welded into harmony by the rule of the Friars. Despite the long sentences into which the author's

habit of scenic description betrays him, one lingers over the snatches of picturesque narrative, full of humorous and useful information. (B. Herder.)

Mayrhofer's *Zauber des Sueden's* and *Nordische Wanderfahrt* sharpen one's appetite for travel and suggest sensible ways of enjoying the voyage from Naples through the once Turkish domains on the one hand, and over the Scandinavian peninsula with its historical landmarks on the other. (Fr. Pustet and Co.)

M. Laros (Jos. Koesel: Kempten) has given us a new edition of Pascal's *Pensées*, which follows in the main the plan of Brunschvieg (Paris, 1909). The latter differs from the editions of Bossut and Victor Cousin. It holds a middle place between the critical editions, with their variants, by Molinier and Michant, and has an analytical introduction of solid worth. It ought to be Englished.

Der Deutschamerikanische Farmer is a valuable contribution to the economic history of the United States, and one regrets that the work should not have been at once published in English; though there are good reasons for its being made the subject of propaganda among German colonists, actual and prospective. The work is a careful analysis of the immigration statistics showing the strength of the German element and its contribution in the United States to our industrial prosperity and culturizing influences. It gives accurate accounts from official reports, laying especial stress upon German immigration to the Northern States, and upon the systematic agricultural development during the latter part of last century (1860 to 1900). The author establishes definite lines of comparison, and in some cases of contrast, between the different national elements that have contributed to the colonization and improvement of the agricultural districts. Notable is the estimate which he gives of the activity and political influence of the German farm population in the two distinct periods before and after the Civil War. The volume is full of interesting details that throw light on the growth of national education and the press, the workings of national antipathies and their results upon political formations. A good index of subjects and persons makes reference to the contents for special use easy. The author, Professor Dr. Joseph Och, Columbus, Ohio, is also publisher of the volume. To reach the public at large it should have another firm name added to the Josephinum Press.

The *Second Annual Report of the Superintendent of Parish Schools of the Diocese of Trenton* shows an advance in efficiency as well as in numbers. Looking over the statistics for the various schools, the reader not familiar with local conditions is apt to puzzle over the unequal number of pupils attending the different schools. Some of the schools show a marked increase in numbers during the year. In one instance the number of pupils at the beginning of the school year is given as 755, whilst at the end of the year there were 846, an increase of nearly one hundred; in another case the rolls show the reverse, a decrease of sixty or more children in a single school. There is also too big a difference in the relative attendance of boys and girls, of which it would be interesting to know the reason. Indeed it is the study of these variations that gives in most cases the key to the efficiency of the methods adopted, and their investigation would appear to be a chief reason for the publication of such reports.

Dr. Bernard Pick of the Open Court Publishing Company (Chicago) issues two booklets, *The Cabala* and *Jesus in the Talmud*. The object of the former is to direct attention to the relationship between the peculiar Jewish mysticism of the medieval period and its influence on modern philosophy, notably that part of it which seeks to trace occultism, and helps to separate superstition from science. The Cabala had its origin as a system of interpretation in the reaction that resulted from the Aristotelian treatment of the Thora, and ended

in a mystic cult of the principle of emanation exemplified in the so-called Sephiroth teaching. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was thought that the Cabala offered a good medium for making the mystic doctrine of the Christian schools accessible to the Jews and might thus lead to conversions. Its value as a study in connexion with Theosophy or of the monistic theories of to-day is one reason for the interest taken in its revival.

In *Jesus in the Talmud* the author directs attention to and briefly analyzes the passages in the old editions of the Talmud that refer to Christ. These have been for the most part expurgated from the Jewish traditions, and there is a general tendency among the Jews of to-day to discredit them. The irenic attitude of the modern Jew toward Christianity, especially in America, is well expressed in a recent pamphlet by Rabbi Martin A. Meyer (Jewish Tracts: Cincinnati), who, while he sacrifices none of the prerogatives traditionally demanded by the Jewish people as having a mission and preference among the nations, pleads nevertheless for harmonious activity between Jews and Christians toward the ideals in religion and civic life that are elevating humanity.

Éloge de Louis Veuillot (Lethielleux: Paris) is a splendidly eloquent appreciation by the Bishop of Orleans, delivered on the occasion of the centenary celebration of the birth of Louis Veuillot, journalist, author, and champion of the Catholic cause in France during the latter half of the past century. The works of Veuillot comprise some forty volumes. His biography, begun by his brother François and continued by his son Eugene, in four volumes, reached up to the year 1883. No better exponent of the patriotic author's principles and merits could have been found than Mgr. Touchet whose "La France toujours" and "Ce que fut Jeanne D'Arc" appeal to the loyal heart of every Frenchman.

Back Home (Kenedy and Sons, N. Y.), an old-fashioned poem by Charles Phillips, contains poetical thoughts that attract; but as a solitary specimen of the writer's efforts it makes the impression of undue subjectiveness. One is interested in the glimpses of Tennyson's home-thought, because he was the author of "In Memoriam" and of "Maud". But one is less apt to be interested in a composition originally written for private circulation, that deals with the domestic relations, however honorable, of a writer otherwise little known to the literary world.

England and the Sacred Heart, by the Rev. G. E. Price, tells of the introduction of the devotion of the Sacred Heart into England by the Venerable Claude de la Colombière, who had been confessor of the Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque. The seeds of devotion planted at the end of the seventeenth century developed under the heat and stress of penal times. Through the efforts of Bishop Milner and the devotion as fostered at old Oscott, the spirit of Jansenism that had settled in parts of England and Ireland was largely dissipated, and by increasing the Eucharistic cult generally, the devotion to the Sacred Heart acted as a panacea for the moral and intellectual evils that threatened Catholic life in modern England.

The *Dominican Yearbook for 1914* is replete with information on subjects Dominican, the Holy Name Society, missionary fields, biographical reminiscences, chronicles, and appreciations in prose and verse. The writers represent good names on the literary roll; such as P. Reginald Buckler, Vincent McNabb, C. H. McKenna, Miss Donnelly, Frs. Goetz, Casey, Crowley, Schwertner. Among the dead to whom special tribute is paid we all have good reason to mourn the loss of such talented writers as Father Francis Aloysius Spencer and Father Albert Reinhart. The *Yearbook* shows good editorship in every sense of the word.

Books Received.

BIBLICAL.

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THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

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